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The County Histories of Scotland

ABERDEEN AND BANFF

A HISTORY

OF

ABERDEEN AND BANFF

BY

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MDCCCC

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PREFACE.

THE History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff was undertaken by Mr Alexander Allardyce, and at the time of his decease he had carried the work, at least in outline, as far as the early years of the Reformation period. When the task, auspiciously begun by him, devolved upon another, it seemed desirable, on various grounds, that the writer should make himself responsible for the whole book. The proportions to be allotted to the different parts were accordingly determined afresh, and the treatment proceeded from the beginning in conformity with the writer's estimate of the significance of events and his interpretation of the manifold data with which he had to deal. But portions of the materials left by Mr Allardyce have been used, and frequently also there is an incidental indebtedness to him in the early chapters.

Throughout this brief retrospect of the two shires,

the aim has been to give as clear a presentation as possible of the essential facts and the sequence of events in the course of their progress, bringing into prominence whatever has been distinctive in their life and action, and showing wherein they have differed from other counties and from the country as a whole, and what have been their special contributions to the national history.

The broad general principle has been steadily kept in view, that no statement or tradition should be accepted as historical for which there is not clear and definite evidence. There is the less temptation to give heed to legendary or mythical elements that here the authentic records are so exceptionally abundant and complete. By the great work carried out in connection with the first Spalding Club, supplemented in recent years by that of its successor, a large body of the true materials and data of the history of north-eastern Scotland has been collected, arranged, annotated, and indexed, to the great advantage of every one entering on this field of historical research. Less special to the north-east, but invaluable in relation to all such inquiries, are the many volumes now published in which the contents of the national archives are analysed and rendered more conveniently accessible, as also the calendars and abstracts issued by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, of papers in the

hands of private persons and corporate authorities, to all which has to be added the extensive results of private enterprise, through book-clubs and otherwise, in publishing the documents of the provincial as well as the national history of Scotland. While the writer's main indebtedness has necessarily been to these various sources of documentary evidence, he has to acknowledge the generous assistance he has invariably received from possessors of local information, or custodians of records, to whom he has had occasion to apply with regard to particular points.

Acknowledgment has also to be made of important assistance in the compilation of the bibliography. It is almost exclusively confined to publications having a direct bearing on matters coming within the scope of this history. A full bibliography of the two shires, including works by Aberdeenshire and Banffshire authors, is announced by the New Spalding Club, and is expected to form a large volume.

17 Queen's Road, Aberdeen,
February 1900.

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DUO VICECOMITATUS ABERDONIA ET BANFIA. UNA CUM REGIONIBUS ET TERRARUM TRACTIBUS SUB IIS COMPREHENSIS, *Auctore Roberto Gordonio à Straloch.* A Description of the two Shyres Aberdene and Banf, with such Countreys and Provinces as ar comprehended under them. — *In pocket at beginning of volume.*

From Blaeu's Great Atlas, 1654.

ABREDONIÆ NOVÆ ET VETERIS DESCRIPTIO . . *p.* 205

By Gordon of Rothiemay.

ABERDEEN AND BANFF . . . . . *In pocket at end of volume.*

From the Ordnance Survey.

ABERDEEN AND BANFF.

CHAPTER I.

THE PLACE OF ABERDEENSHIRE AND BANFFSHIRE IN HISTORY—PHYSICAL FEATURES—EARLIEST HISTORY: THE ROMANS—THE TAIXALI AND DEVANA—SEVERUS'S EXPEDITION: SUPPOSED ROMAN CAMPS—EIRDE HOUSES, PIT DWELLINGS, AND CRANNOGS—DUNS, RATHS, AND CATHAIRS—"DRUIDICAL CIRCLES" AND "STANDING-STONES"—SCULPTURED MONOLITHS—FLINT IMPLEMENTS—EARLY POPULATION—LEGENDS OF THE SAINTS AND THE RESEARCHES OF THE ABERDEEN HISTORIANS—THE 'BOOK OF DEER'—ST COLUMBA AND THE CONVERSION OF THE NORTHERN PICTS: TRACES OF HIM IN ABERDEENSHIRE AND BANFFSHIRE—OTHER SAINTS—ECCLESIASTICAL CONTROVERSY AND THE EXPULSION OF THE COLUMBAN MONKS—ST FERGUS—ST RULE AND KING HUNGUS AT BRAEMAR—KING GRIG'S CONNECTION WITH ABERDEENSHIRE AND HIS SERVICES TO THE CHURCH—ST MANIRE AND RELIGIOUS DECAY—THE VIKING AGE: INROADS OF SCANDINAVIANS—THORFINN AND MACBETH—FINAL OVERTHROW OF MACBETH AT LUMPHANAN—LULACH AND MAELSNECHTAN—POWER OF THE NORTHERN KINGS IN BUCHAN.

SEPARATED from central Scotland by the Mounth or Eastern Grampians, and bounded on two sides by the sea, the territory between the Dee and the Spey occupied a position of comparative isolation from the rest of the country until steam navigation and railways broke down all the old territorial barriers. From the earliest days when history has anything to tell us concerning it, this north-eastern province, consisting of the two modern counties of Aberdeen

and Banff, has played a distinctive and important part in the affairs of Scotland. Unconquered, if not uninvaded, by the Romans, it formed after their departure one of the seven provinces into which Pictland or Alban of the early middle ages was divided, and it long continued to assert for itself a semi-independent political existence. Throughout the range of its history it has been the home of a sturdy population, warlike in its early Celtic and perhaps pre-Celtic days, and more forceful in the arts of peace as well as war when the new Teutonic elements came in. When southern Scotland up to the two great firths was linked with South Britain, and its future capital was rising up around the stronghold of an Anglo-Saxon prince, this north-eastern territory was the mainstay of independent Alban. In the eleventh century, as in the nineteenth, the picturesque upper valley of the Dee was the favourite retreat of the sovereign, and many of the recorded transactions of the Scottish kings took place within these counties. They were crossed and recrossed by Edward I. in his vain endeavour to impose the English yoke; and in the great war of national independence Robert Bruce, himself, it may be said, an Aberdeenshire magnate, as guardian of his nephew the Earl of Mar, won his first decisive victory in the battle of Barra, where he annihilated the power of the Cumyns and the English interest in the north. A century later it was Aberdeenshire men, under another Earl of Mar and the Provost of Aberdeen, that repelled the invasion of Celtic barbarism at Harlaw. At three subsequent crises of Scottish history this district was to be the centre of national conflict. Here alone the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the Covenant of the seventeenth met with strenuous and sustained resistance, and it was here that the first Jacobite rebellion of the eighteenth century

was organised. In this north-eastern province of Scotland, moreover, the native endowments of mind and character have been developed and turned to account by a singularly effective system of education. As scholars, as soldiers, as civilians in the public service, in professional life, and in the various walks of commerce and industry, Aberdeenshire men have done their part in the work of the world, and the same sound stock still contributes its output of mind and energy to the manifold activities of the empire. Some of the elements and forces that have developed and moulded the character of the people of these north-eastern counties will become apparent in the course of this brief survey of their history.

In fortunes and in history the two counties of Banff and Aberdeen may be regarded as one: there is no natural or recognisable line of demarcation between them, and in these pages the name Aberdeenshire is frequently used as an inclusive designation for both. The extreme length of the territory is about ninety, and its breadth about sixty miles. Every variety of highland and lowland country is to be found within its limits. Beginning with the low ground of Buchan and the fertile districts of Formartine, Garioch, and Lower Banffshire, it rises through Strathbogie and Mar to the highest tract of land in the United Kingdom, culminating in the Cairngorm range. Less than half the land of the two counties is under cultivation. Woods and plantations occupy less than a sixth part of the uncultivated area. The rest is mountain and moor, yielding pasturage for moderate flocks of sheep, or for deer, and at the lower elevations for cattle. In former days the woodlands were much more extensive than they are now, and, well within the range of modern history, the large forests of Stocket, Hallforest, and Drum existed in the immediate neighbour-

hood of Aberdeen. The upland glens afforded shelter and precarious subsistence to populations driven back from the low country by the immigration of robuster races. Ethnologists tell us of indications of an early people of Iberian type preceding or partly contemporaneous with the Celts in the north; and different Celtic branches prevailed at different periods. In the meagrely recorded middle ages the Scandinavian sea-rovers began to ravage the low country. Frisian and Flemish immigrants arrived, and, with the Anglo-Saxon inflow from England at the Norman Conquest, changed the whole character of society.

Aberdeenshire first emerges above the horizon of history in the early days of the Roman occupation of Britain. Whatever may have been the site of the battle described by Tacitus, the country north of the Mounth must be believed to have contributed its quota to the confederated Caledonian host under the commander whom the historian calls Galgacus. Fought somewhere to the south of the Mounth, the battle may have been less calamitous to the country we now call Aberdeenshire than to the Scottish midlands, by which its brunt had been chiefly borne; and this has been suggested as a reason for that adjustment of the balance of power which gave the northern or transmontane Picts their ascendancy in the history of Alban.[1] The fleet which Agricola sent round the north of Scotland must have sailed along this coast and learned something of the geography of the region. Certain it is that within the next half century the Alexandrian geographer, Ptolemy, had published his Tables containing scraps of information that must have been derived from Roman sources. Here Aberdeenshire bears the name of Taixalon; and Kinnaird Head, or possibly Rattray Head, is the promontory of the Taixali. The Taixali

[1] Rhys, Celtic Britain, p. 160.

had a "city" called Devana, the site of which has been a theme of much controversy. At one time the uncritical patriotism of local historians easily identified it with the city at the mouth of the Dee or the one near the mouth of the Don; but there is no evidence that any city existed where Aberdeen or Old Aberdeen now stands until many centuries after the time of Ptolemy. More critical writers, and among them George Chalmers, Prof. John Stuart of Marischal College, and Dr Joseph Robertson, held it to be clearly established that Devana was at Peterculter, in Lower Deeside, where Prof. Stuart discovered, at Anguston, about three miles from the ancient camp of Normandykes, what he and others conceived to be its remains. In recent years, however, Devana has been transferred by Mr W. F. Skene to the vicinity of Loch Davan, about two miles from the Dinnet station of the Deeside railway. It is argued that this site agrees with Ptolemy better than the other, and a point is made of the abundance of traces of ancient habitation in the locality. The same view is strongly supported by an accomplished local antiquary, Mr John G. Michie, minister of Dinnet and author of an exhaustive monograph on Loch Kinnord, who not only finds in Devana the latinised form of Davan, the "town of the two lakes" (Davan and Kinnord), but lays stress on the ancient remains just referred to, and on the recovery from the bottom of the lake of weapons of war and articles of household use that seem to be of Roman manufacture.[1] Except that Peterculter is nearer the supposed track of the Romans, there is little to be said in opposition to the considerations that would lead us to connect the ancient Devana with Loch Davan.

During the second century of the Christian era several punitive expeditions were sent against the Caledonian tribes,

[1] Michie, Loch Kinnord, pp. 40, 41.

but nothing is known to have occurred that has any direct bearing upon Aberdeenshire until the Emperor Severus came north at the head of a large army in 208 for the purpose of finally subduing the whole of independent Caledonia. In his campaign of roadmaking and warfare Severus pressed on till he reached "the farthest end of the island." The inhabitants of the country beyond the Roman frontier are now spoken of as two nations, the Meatæ and the Caledonii. The latter would seem to have been in possession of Aberdeenshire, though not confined to it, and they are described as a hardy people who dwelt in huts, neglected the cultivation of land and the fish within their reach, and lived by pasturage, the chase, and the natural fruits of the earth. In battle they were unencumbered with clothing and fought with a short spear and dagger from chariots drawn by small fleet horses. Such a country, without agriculture or cities in the Roman sense, was ill-suited to be the winter quarters of an army of invasion, and immense numbers of the Romans are reported to have perished in these northern wilds.

The testimony of written history is to a certain extent reinforced by that of archæological remains. Supposed Roman camps and roads were brought into vogue in Aberdeenshire, as elsewhere, by the enthusiasm of General Roy, who had made a study of Roman military works and examined all kinds of ancient remains during the survey of Scotland in which he was engaged about the middle of the eighteenth century, but who unfortunately relied on the spurious work attributed to the monkish chronicler Richard of Cirencester. As regards Aberdeenshire, Roy was seconded in his views by another distinguished officer, who had his residence in the county, Colonel Shand of Templeland. The camp at Ardoch, in southern Perthshire, was taken

as an undisputed Roman starting-point, and there was a theoretical north-eastward route by Perth, Battledykes, the Vale of Strathmore, and the Mearns, to Stonehaven or Urie, from which it passed to the ford of the Dee commanded by the camp of Normandykes at Peterculter. Until Roman camps came into fashion this camp, in accordance with its name, had been traditionally associated with the Northmen. It is now nearly undistinguishable, but was carefully surveyed in 1807, when its outlines were more distinct, by Prof. Stuart and others, and was found to measure about a hundred acres, and to form an "oblong square." A similar but larger camp at Glenmailen, or Buss, on the upper water of the Ythan, about thirty miles north of Normandykes, was surveyed by Colonel Shand, and it is contended that no native army of numbers sufficient to require so large camps can ever have been intrenched in these parts.

But while it may be regarded as a possibility, if nothing more, that a large Roman army had for a time its quarters at Glenmailen, the course of its progress thither and its farther progress towards "the farthest end of the island" can only be matter of vague conjecture. One of the ancient routes in middle Aberdeenshire crossed the Don and the Ury at a point where the Bass commanded the passages, and, beyond the Ythan camp, Colonel Shand made one of his discoveries of military remains at a ford of the Deveron at Auchengoul. Another supposed Roman camp is found near the western extremity of the parish of Marnoch, whence the route is carried by Deskford and Cullen to the Spey below Gordon Castle. No confidence, however, can be placed in these hypothetical routes, nor is the occasional discovery of Roman coins or medals—as on the

road between Stonehaven and Culter and in the Red Moss of Crathes, at one extremity of our territory, and in Lower Banffshire at the other—any evidence that they had been deposited there by their original possessors. Aberdeenshire men may have been among the Caledonians punished by Carausius, towards the close of the third century, after he had organised a fleet of galleys for the repression of the sea-rovers already beginning to ravage the North Sea coasts. Once more the attacks from the north were repelled in 368-369, but Gibbon is apparently guilty of one of his flights of imagination when he asserts that the strong hand of Theodosius "confined the trembling Caledonians to the north-east angle of the island," even though the panegyric of Claudian on this noted general (the father of a still more noted emperor) makes him stain the region of Thule with the blood of the Picts and vanquish the Saxon pirates in the waters of Orkney. The restoration of the Roman power was short-lived, and within forty years, though Stilicho flourished during that time, the last of the Roman eagles had quitted the British Isles.

Of positive Roman influence in the north-east no indication has come down to us, and it is evident that no real conquest of the region can have taken place. The long-continued wars with a powerful foe would tend to weaken and deteriorate those native populations upon which it bore most heavily, and this effect would be accentuated by the systems of slavery and impressment; but Aberdeenshire, suffering less by this struggle than provinces farther south, may have gained in relative importance and strength in the latter days of the Roman occupation.

But if the literary documents of its oldest history are meagre, Aberdeenshire is rich above all other Scottish counties in relics that serve in some slight degree for guidance in the

darkness that overspreads its early life. Prominent among these are the "eirde" or earth houses, in use in Roman and post-Roman times, which were entered by a small and easily concealed opening, and were connected with dwellings above-ground of perishable materials long since obliterated. Such subterranean recesses are described by Tacitus as in use among the Germans of his time as shelters from the cold of winter and repositories for the concealment of valuables. Nowhere in these islands are they so abundant as in the districts of West Aberdeenshire, bordering on the Highland line. Lake dwellings or crannogs existed at Loch Kinnord, the Loch of Leys, now drained, and Loch Goul in Newmachar. Down to the days of the Anglo-Saxon colonisation the defensive structures of the country were represented by hill-forts, or duns, occupying commanding positions, while raths and cathairs were more closely related to the ordinary life and dwellings of the population. The rath, or residence of the chief, gave place to the feudal castle, and the cathair to the undefended homestead or "farm town." Many traces of the greater fortifications survive, as on the Hill of Durn, the Convals, Dunecht, Barra, Bennachie, and Tap o' Noth. The stronghold of Dunecht, on the summit of its conical hill, encloses an area of more than two acres, and consists of five concentric walls, three of earthwork and two of stone. The space within the fortification had been occupied by wooden or wattled dwellings, and is large enough to have been an asylum for women, children, and cattle. The so-called "Druidical" circles and "standing-stones," which still abound, were associated in historic times with the administration of justice and other public business. They were also connected with the disposal of the dead whether by burial or incineration. Another class of standing-stones are the sculptured monuments depicted and discussed in the

magnificent volumes edited for the original Spalding Club by its secretary and joint-founder, Dr John Stuart of the Register House. These belong chiefly to the early Christian period. Yet more distinctive as a speciality of Aberdeenshire archæology, and found more abundantly in the north-east of Scotland than in any other part of the country, are the arrow-heads, spear-heads, and other flint implements, the fine workmanship of which bears witness to the industry and skill of a martial population. The raw material of these implements is found in detrital masses at Cruden, on the coast of Buchan, and less abundantly at Belhelvie and elsewhere; and remains of flint workshops have been discovered not only in the vicinity of these sources of flint but at inland places, as Barra, Inverurie, and Alford. Ages after they had been superseded by metallic weapons the flint arrow-heads continued to be objects of superstitious dread as "elf shots" or "elf bolts"—a survival, we may infer, from days when they imparted a new sense of terror and power as the most efficacious weapon of war and the chase.

The population, when history dawns upon it, is rude if we are to judge by modern standards, but there had been ingenious and skilful men in its ranks. Under conditions which seem unpropitious, man had more and more asserted his mastery, and in spite of his own strifes and wars had been gaining ground in his perennial contest with the forces of nature. He was an artificer and huntsman, and in his degree an agriculturist, for in the eirde houses the evidences have been found of the cultivation of the domestic animals and the cereals. Aberdeenshire in those early times was evidently occupied by an active and resolute people, perhaps as advanced as any "barbarians" who never came under the sway of Rome.

In another direction the early history of Aberdeenshire

is distinguishable from that of Pictland as a whole. The legends of the saints, widely as they differ from exact records contemporaneous or nearly so with the events they describe, are not entirely devoid of historic value. The great repertory of early legend relating to persons who played a considerable part in the life of the two north-eastern counties is the 'Breviary of Aberdeen,' and though its biographical memorials are of much later date than the lives with which they are concerned, they at least preserve the names and fame of men whose memory was cherished by the Church.

As regards the general data of Aberdeenshire history, inestimable service has been done by the publication of its original documents in the extensive library issued by the two Spalding Clubs. For no other part of the country, indeed, are the authentic materials of territorial history so ample and so accessible. Earliest and most valuable of all is the 'Book of Deer,' the one literary relic of ancient Pictland. Written at the old Columban monastery on the banks of the Ugie, it is in origin as well as substance an Aberdeenshire document—in form the parchment service-book of the monastery, its margins and blank pages inscribed with a body of memoranda of the gifts of land and concessions of privilege to the monks by the Celtic rulers of the district, the latest entry being a summary of a charter by David I. Incidentally a great deal of light is thrown by these notitiæ on the social organisation of Buchan in the middle ages.

About the period of nearly two centuries between the departure of the Romans and the conversion of the northern Picts to Christianity, there is little to be gleaned of particular events in Aberdeenshire. Christianity had reached the south of Scotland before the Romans left. The first missionary who crossed the Mounth of whom we have any certain knowledge is St Ternan, who died at Banchory, called after him

Banchory-Ternan, and whose relics were treasured both there and in the Church of Aberdeen. We also find traces of St Kentigern, otherwise St Mungo, the patron saint of Glasgow, who at one period of his life was associated with St David in Wales, and had St Asaph for one of his disciples. In West Aberdeenshire the Church of Glengairn was dedicated to him, and a Welsh connection is implied in the dedications of Migvie and Lumphanan to St Finan and of Midmar to St Midan, two Welsh saints likewise associated in adjacent parishes of Anglesea.[1] St Kentigern, however, was a sixth-century saint and contemporary of Columba, and the presence of his disciples in Aberdeenshire shows that to a certain extent it was a meeting-place of two great currents of Christianity—one from the south, and the other, which was by far the more important, from Iona. The conversion of the northern Picts as a people was unquestionably due to the initiative and influence of the great man known as St Columba, St Colm, or Columcille.

Having persuaded Brude mac Maelchon, King of the Picts, whose seat was on the Ness, to become a Christian—so runs the legend in the 'Book of Deer'—Columcille, accompanied by Drostan, arrived in Aberdeenshire in pursuance of his mission. He first appears at Aberdour, an early centre of population, where numerous hut-foundations have been found deeply embedded in peat; and here he receives from the Pictish ruler of the district the gift of a cathair or "town." From Aberdour he passes on through Buchan, and wishing to establish a central station on the Ugie, he asks the mormaer Bédé for a second cathair. It was at first refused, but the story goes on to say that presently Bédé's young son became dangerously ill, and that, beseeching the prayers of the clerics for the recovery of the sick child, the anxious

[1] Skene, Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. p. 193.

mormaer now freely granted the desired cathair, and with it the lands between the stone landmarks Cloch-in-Tiprat and Cloch-pette-mic-Garnait. Having established the Monastery of Deer and left Drostan in charge of the mission, Columcille passed on to other fields of labour. Such is the story in the 'Book of Deer.' The name of Columba is borne by the Buchan fishing village of St Colms, or St Combs; the parish of Lonmay, in which the village is situated, was also formerly St Colms; and St Colm's Kirk stood at the east end of the village, overlooking the sea. As at Aberdour, so in Lonmay and the adjacent parish of Rathen, the traces have been found of early population on a considerable scale. Farther along the coast, St Columba was held in reverence as tutelar saint of Belhelvie. The inland churches of Newmachar and Daviot were dedicated to him, as was also that of Alvah in Banffshire, while a chapel at Portsoy connects his name with the coast of that county. Thus we obtain an indication of the method by which the Picts were brought under the influence of Christianity. Beginning with the heads of the kingdom, the province, and the clan, and obtaining cathairs in central places for the protection of the Christian brotherhood and infant church, St Columba passed through Pictland on his missionary tour.

We are dealing with tradition and legend, but that it has an underlying basis of truth seems clear. The 'Breviary of Aberdeen,' as well as the 'Book of Deer,' brings St Drostan into personal relations with St Columba, but some of the annalists give him a later date. He was of the "family of Iona." For a time he lived as a hermit in the lone valley of Lochlee, among the Grampians just outside the southern limit of Aberdeenshire, while from his monastery of Kildrostan or Aberlour, on the Spey, Christianity was carried to the adjacent highlands of Upper Banffshire. Maluog of

Lismore, otherwise known as St Moloch, appears to have introduced it at Mortlach, one of the earliest ecclesiastical foundations in these parts; and St Machar came to the banks of the Don with a special commission from Columba; St Marnan laboured from Aberchirder to Leochel; and to Keith is traced St Maelrubha or Malruve, whose name, when his fame was forgotten, became curiously disguised in the "Summer Eve" fairs held at Keith and other places about the beginning of September. To Adamnan were dedicated the churches of Forvie, Aboyne, and Forglen, the last-mentioned distinguished as having the custody of the mysterious *brecbannoch* or banner of Columba.

The split in the Columban Church at the beginning of the eighth century over the questions of Easter and the form of the tonsure, followed as it was by the expulsion from Pictland by King Nectan of the clerics who clung to the Columban usages, had no doubt affected the north-eastern monasteries; and there is reason to believe that Faelchu, who after the banishment headed the Columban party at Iona, is identical with Wolok (or Volocus of the Aberdeen Breviary), the zealous missionary whose sphere extended from Glass and Balvenie, in Banffshire, to Logie-Mar, the ancient seat of population around Lochs Kinnord and Davan.[1] The Roman influence received an impulse at Longley in Buchan from "Fergus the Pict, a bishop of Ireland," who was at a Council at Rome in 721, and it is seen in the numerous dedications that began to be made to the apostle Peter. A somewhat later incident is the arrival of Regulus or St Rule at Braemar with the relics of St Andrew, and his meeting there with King Hungus on his return towards his seat in Forfarshire from a Highland expedition.

[1] Cf. Skene, Celtic Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 177, 178.

In the ninth century, after the union of the Pictish and Scottish thrones by Kenneth mac Alpin in 843, a rather shadowy hero, at once mythical and real, comes upon the scene in the person of King Grig, Girg, Giric, or Cyric, sometimes dignified with the title of Gregory the Great. Chalmers says he was mormaer of the country between the Dee and the Spey, but gives no authority for the statement; and Buchanan, following the fabulous chronicles, makes him overwhelm the Picts, crush the Britons, conquer England, and subdue Ireland. The 'Book of Deer' mentions a Giric as father of one of the benefactors of the monastery; but in history King Grig's activity seems to have been exerted from Fortrenn, or central Scotland, then the regal and political headquarters. He came to the throne by means of a successful rebellion against Eth or Hugh "of the swift foot," the last of Kenneth's sons, who was wounded in battle at Strathallan and died at Nrurim, "in a dangerous pass." It has been contended that "Nrurim" is Inverurie, but no evidence can be adduced for such a conclusion; and though Fordun, the fourteenth-century chronicler and canon of Aberdeen, makes Grig's own death occur at Dunnideer, other chroniclers, with more appearance of warrant, place it at Dundurn, the principal stronghold of Fortrenn. Grig's fame turns chiefly upon his success in winning over the clergy to his side. "This is he who first gave liberty to the Scottish Church, which had been until now under servitude according to the law and custom of the Picts," says the Chronicle of the Picts and Scots; and "In freedom from mormaer and toisech" is the refrain of the 'Book of Deer.' Lay exactions and servitudes were repugnant to the Church, which Grig, an adventurer and usurper, conciliated by issuing in its favour a decree of relief from these liabilities.

In the earlier part of that century Christianity in

Aberdeenshire seems to have fallen on evil times. The narrative of St Manire's work in the Aberdeen Breviary discloses the existence in the wilder districts of a "wood folk," still addicted to old superstitions, and speaking a language or dialect differing from that of the low country and of most of the Christian teachers. Manire was skilled in both tongues. He encountered the prejudices of the Columban Christians, who seem to have been relapsing into paganism but preserved sufficient memories of the Iona ritual to furnish them with an excuse for opposing his innovations. But in spite of hostility and personal danger, Manire, who was founder of the church of Crathie, persevered until success attended his labours. The difference of speech, as indicating difference of race or history, is an interesting point with regard to the upland and remoter districts, which are significantly prominent in Scottish hagiology.

An external influence powerfully affecting the course of events had now come into operation. It was in the latter part of the eighth century that the Scandinavian Vikings began to ravage the British coasts. The beginning of the Viking age, indeed, is of much earlier date. Long before the close of the Roman power the maritime tribes of the North Sea began their long buccaneering expeditions, some of which extended even as far as the Levant. It can easily be understood how Scotland, and even England, in the early ages should offer little temptation to the adventurous seamen whom pressure of population on both sides of the Cattegat and Sound sent forth to roam the seas and live by the spoils of war. The earliest Scandinavian descents on the Scottish shores were directed against the monastic communities, which had gathered some wealth and thus offered temptation to the pagan sea-rovers. Aberdeenshire had few inlets for their long-boats, which must have been

constantly cruising along its coast; but the Moray Firth (or "Fiord") on the one side afforded them stations and settlements, while by the Firth of Tay, on the other, the Viking steersmen found a way of access to the political headquarters of the country, where their ravages among the southern Picts were a main cause of the seating of Kenneth mac Alpin on the Pictish throne. The alliance of the Scottish King Constantine with Athelstan of England checked for a time the Scandinavian raids; but on Constantine rebelling against the Anglo-Saxon pretensions, Athelstan invaded the country as far as the foot of the Eastern Grampians, while his fleet scoured the coast along by Buchanness and as far as Caithness. Malcolm I. (942-954) made an expedition to the north to wrest the country beyond the Spey from the Norse, and the reign of Indulph, who succeeded him, is memorable in Scottish history for the evacuation of Edinburgh by its Anglo-Saxon founders, while the Pictish Chronicle assigns to it the first Scandinavian raid into Buchan. The north-eastern province, enjoying at least comparative immunity from the turmoils of the time, had grown in relative importance and become worth the attention of the hungry followers in Orkney of Eric of the Bloody Axe, whose descent on Buchan in Indulph's time seems to be identical with the inroad at Cullen in 961 which led to the battle of the Baads, of popular tradition, and to the death of Indulph as recorded in the later chronicles. Traditionary story also tells of a battle of Gamrie on the same coast during the same epoch of history.

Sigurd the Stout, upon whom Olaf Tryggveson, the first Christian king of Norway, had forced a nominal acceptance of the new faith, continued the raiding expeditions; among those with whom he fought being Finlay, son of Ruadri and father of Macbeth—three mormaers of Moray, who each received

the title of "Ri-Albain," or King of Alban, and yielded but scant obedience to the greater King of Scotland, whose power was south of the Mounth. These northern kings, with their forces, were a buffer against the Norse of the northern mainland, and they exercised authority in the country east of the Spey.

Several conflicts are mentioned in the later chronicles as having occurred on the coasts or in the interior of the two counties during the reign of Malcolm II. (1005-1034), and Malcolm himself fought with the Danes in this province. The chronicles are probably inexact, and in some cases there may be a confusion between Malcolm the general King of Scotland and Malcolm the local king, who slew Finlay and reigned in his stead (1020-1029). One of the fights is said to have taken place at Mortlach in 1010, after a retreat before the victorious Scandinavians from the western side of the Spey, but the details of this alleged battle rest wholly upon late and untrustworthy authority. The Sagas record that Sigurd married Malcolm's daughter, by whom he had a son, the famous Thorfinn—a connection of which the Scottish annalists say nothing, and it seems at least quite as likely that the northern as that the southern Malcolm was Thorfinn's grandfather.

Swegen, King of Denmark, was busy in the affairs of England with his ships and men. In 1012 an expedition under his young son, Cnut, soon to be one of the most powerful of kings, landed at Cruden Bay with the object, as would appear, of checking the tide of Scandinavian evil fortune in Scotland which had culminated in the battles of Barry and Aberlemno. The popular story in Abercromby's 'Martial Atchievements' about Malcolm making up his differences with Cnut, and ordering a church to be built and dedicated to St Olaf, the patron saint of Norway, must be

purely imaginary, for Olaf was at this time a youth of seventeen; he was slain in battle with Cnut in 1030, and his canonisation did not take place till the following century.

Aberdeenshire bore a notable part in the great and final trial of strength between Pagan and Christian, Scandinavian and Celt, which took place at Clontarf in 1014. The Irish King Brian Boru had carried on a long and successful struggle with the Scandinavians. Both sides sought allies wherever they could find them. Christian though he nominally was, Earl Sigurd took part with his pagan kindred, while among King Brian's allies was Donald, mormaer of Mar. In West Aberdeenshire Donald had suffered less than his seaside neighbours from the Danish and Norwegian raids, but his sense of the gravity of the issue was sufficiently strong to take him all the way to the shore of Dublin Bay to bear a hand in the cause of patriotism and religion represented by the Celtic king. Earl Sigurd, the mormaer of Mar, and the aged Brian Boru himself, with most of the leaders on both sides, were among the slain; but the battle was the severest blow which the Scandinavian interest had yet received in these islands.

Thorfinn was a boy of five at Earl Sigurd's death, when his grandfather, King Malcolm, gave him Sutherland and Caithness, his older half-brothers dividing or fighting for the Orkney earldom held of the King of Norway; in manhood he was a foremost warrior of his time, reunited the Orkneys with his Scottish earldom, and went sea-roving like all his kindred. His sway extended over the western seaboard as far as Galloway, and on the death of his grandfather he had his fights with King Duncan, who belonged to the rival family of Scottish kings. King Cnut came to Scotland after visiting Rome in 1031, and received the submission of Malcolm and two other kings—namely, Macbeth and Jehmarc or Imergi;

and for the time all Scotland was nominally under the overlordship of the Scandinavian King of England. Macbeth was a subordinate king in his own right, and his wife, Gruoch, granddaughter of Kenneth IV., had become heir to the Scottish throne, since Duncan had killed her brother to secure the succession in his own family. Duncan went north to deal with Thorfinn, and had Macbeth ostensibly helping him; but Macbeth turned traitor, put him to death, and, making his peace with Thorfinn, hurried south to seize the reins of power. Thorfinn also went south, driving the remains of Duncan's army before him and subduing all the country as far as the Tay. In this victorious march he would pass through Aberdeenshire, and over the Cairn-a-Mounth, presumably by way of Torphins, the name of which may be a memento of the episode.

With the support of Thorfinn and his Norsemen, Macbeth, after being a petty king in the north for about a dozen years, was for seventeen years King of Scotland. With his career terminated the political influence of the Northmen in Aberdeenshire. Duncan had left two young sons, one of whom, Malcolm, called Canmore, had found refuge with his uncle Siward, the Danish Earl of Northumbria; and in Malcolm's interest Siward came north in 1054 with armed forces by sea and land and fought a successful battle on the Tay, but had to return south without effecting his purpose of driving Macbeth from the throne. Malcolm himself, now King of Cumbria, led an army against Macbeth in the summer of 1057. Fordun's report is that Macbeth, seeing his forces daily diminishing, and those of his adversary increasing, suddenly fled to the north, where he hoped to find safety in the depths of the forests. Malcolm followed him across the Mounth and overtook him at Lumphanan. The Shakespearean story is taken from Hollinshed, whose narrative is a paraphrase

from Hector Boece, while Boece's authority is Fordun. But of Macbeth's discomfiture and death at Lumphanan there can be no doubt. "Macbeth's Cairn," on the southern slope of the Perk Hill, is now marked by a clump of trees in the midst of cultivated land. In the period of agricultural improvement early in the nineteenth century it was depleted for the erection of stone fences round the adjacent fields, but was afterwards added to again as the fields were cleared of stones. A "Macbeth's stone," on the adjacent Brae of Strettum, is said to mark the place where he received his death-wound, and the farm of Cairnbethie, which has been formed around it, is a memorial of his name. Kincardine O'Neil, where Wyntoun makes Malcolm Canmore await the issue of the search and fray in the "Wode of Lunfanan," was of early importance as commanding the ford of the Dee on the ancient route of travel by the Cairn-a-Mounth Pass.

The kingship, so far as Macbeth's party was concerned, devolved on Lulach, his stepson. Queen Gruoch had been previously married to Gilcomgan, brother of Malcolm mac Maelbride, the two brothers being concerned together in the insurrection of 1020, in which Finlay perished. On the death of Malcolm in 1029 Gilcomgan became his successor as local king, and three years afterwards was slain in his rath with fifty of his men, his cousin Macbeth taking his place both as local king and as husband of Gruoch. Lulach was unfit for the position to which he fell heir, and after a nominal reign of six months was slain at Essie in Strathbogie, perhaps in the Glen of Noth, where the Cairn of Mildewen marks "the grave of a thousand." The local kingship held by Macbeth in his younger days did not yet pass from the family, for we learn from the 'Book of Deer' that Maelsnechtan, son of Lulach, gifted land to the monastery. Thorfinn, whose sway, in some shadowy form

at least, had extended over Mar and Buchan, has an unrecorded, and therefore presumably peaceable, disappearance from the scene. It has been supposed that the loss of his support had hastened the fall of Macbeth. The Orkneyinga Saga tells us that he was much lamented by his own people, but that in those lands which he had conquered his rule was irksome, and that after his death many of those who had been under it transferred their allegiance to their former chiefs, whereupon "it soon became apparent how great a loss Thorfinn's death was to his dominions."[1]

There is some little evidence in the 'Book of Deer' that throughout the greater part of the eleventh century the northern claim of kingship over Alban had some reality in Aberdeenshire. One of the entries is to the effect that Malcolm mac Kenneth (Malcolm II.) gave the royal share in specified lands to the monastery, and in the next entry we are told that Malcolm mac Maelbride gave the Delerc while Maelsnechtan gave Pett Malduib. Malcolm mac Maelbride was *ri* or king in the north, as we have seen, when Malcolm mac Kenneth was King of Scotia, and both appear to have claimed kingship in Buchan and to have made grants in virtue of the claim. If the obscurity attending the wars of Malcolm II. is partly due to confusion between him and his northern namesake, it may also be gathered that one result of the wars was to extend the authority of Malcolm mac Maelbride in Aberdeenshire at the expense of that of the King of Scotia. Dr John Stuart, in his preface to the 'Book of Deer' (p. li), remarks that it is not easy to understand how lands presumably in the neighbourhood of Deer could have been at the disposal of the mormaers of Moray,—"lands," he says, "obviously subject to their rivals the kings of Alban." But the so-called mormaers of Moray were, or claimed to

[1] Anderson's Orkneyinga Saga, p. 44.

be, the kings of Alban, and the southern kings were now called kings of Scotia. The division of the country between Macbeth and Thorfinn would be more intelligible were it certain that the latter was the grandson of Malcolm mac Maelbride, as also would the power of the Moray kings in Aberdeenshire.[1]

[1] Cf. Robertson, Scotland under her Early Kings; Stuart, Preface to Book of Deer, pp. li, lxxiv-lxxx; Skene, Celtic Scotland, vol. i. pp. 384-413; Chronicle of the Picts and Scots, &c.

CHAPTER II.

THE TRANSITION EPOCH—COMING OF THE NEW POPULATION—INFLUENCE OF QUEEN MARGARET—MALCOLM CANMORE'S NORTHERN EXPEDITIONS—THE ABERDEENSHIRE MORMAERS BECOME EARLS—RENEWED IMMIGRATION UNDER DAVID—RISE OF TOWNS: ABERDEEN, ITS FOUNDERS AND EARLY POPULATION—TRADING PRIVILEGES AND CHARTERS: THE NORTHERN HANSE—ABERDEEN MINT AND MARKETS—RESTRICTION OF TAVERNS—BANFF—CULLEN, INVERURIE, AND KINTORE—THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION: THE CHURCH IN ABERDEENSHIRE—THE SEE AND ITS ENDOWMENTS—PARISHES—THE NEW TERRITORIAL ARISTOCRACY AND FEUDAL BARONS—SHERIFFDOMS—FLEMISH SETTLERS—THE EARLDOM OF GARIOCH—THE LESLIES—THE EARLDOM OF MAR AND THE DURWARDS—THE BYSETS—ADVENT OF THE CUMYNS: STATESMEN, CASTLE-BUILDERS, PIOUS FOUNDERS—THE ABBEY OF DEER—DURWARD AND CUMYN RIVALRY—THE LE NEYMS, CHEYNES, ETC.—THE NORTH-EASTERN THANAGES—SERFDOM—FUSION OF RACES.

THE reign of Malcolm Canmore inaugurated for Aberdeenshire, as for Scotland, the great transition which was to be completed in the two fruitful and prosperous centuries intervening between his time and the struggle for national independence under Wallace and Bruce. Hitherto the history has been, for the most part, obscure and uncertain, but now begins the clear guidance of charters and other authoritative records. Malcolm visited from time to time the province in which he saw his power established by the overthrow and death of Macbeth. At the beginning of his reign he passed through Aberdeenshire and Banffshire at the head of a

military expedition against the insubordinate population of the north, punishing the Celts and confiscating their lands, especially in the country that had been ruled by Thorfinn, and in which the Macbeth connection principally lay. Nine years after his accession came the Norman Conquest, an event fraught with mightier consequences for the north-east than for the southern territories where the new Teutonic population was already installed. The first effect of the Conquest is seen in the vast influx of Anglo-Saxons driven from England by the sword or the laws of the Conqueror. The new-comers would be welcomed by their kindred in Lothian, formerly a Saxon kingdom; and numbers of them would gradually move northward as far as Aberdeenshire. An immigration of new settlers from the Continent also set in—of seafaring Scandinavians, industrial and trading Flemings, and agricultural Saxons. The Court of Malcolm and Queen Margaret became a centre from which Anglo-Saxon influence radiated through the country. The old Gaelic language was superseded at the centre of affairs by the new Teutonic speech, and through the Queen's Anglo-Saxon clergy the Church itself became an agency in the transition. As might be expected, the dislike of the Celtic population for the new order of things becomes at once apparent. Rebellious attempts to expel the immigrants and recover lost ground were followed by punitive expeditions, forfeitures, and fresh plantations of new settlers. A second expedition to the north, in 1078, was headed by Malcolm in person, and during its progress through Aberdeenshire he granted to the Church of St Andrews his lands of Monymusk and Keig, together, as is believed, with a decayed monastery. So arose the Priory of Monymusk as a cell or dependency of the Priory of St Andrews,—a cell of peculiar interest as the only

Culdee establishment, so far as is known, that ever existed between the Dee and the Spey. Having settled affairs beyond the Spey, Malcolm returned by the old religious house at Mortlach, and from this visit is supposed to date the recognition of its abbot as a bishop outside his monastery, and the establishment of the bishopric, to be translated half a century afterwards to Aberdeen. Tradition credits Malcolm with having had a hunting-seat in the great forest of Mar; and the ancient Castle of Kindrochit, the foundations of which are still to be seen on the bank of the Clunie, in the village of Braemar, is associated with his name.

Alexander I., who succeeded to the throne after an interval of struggle and the short reign of his brother Eadgar, had the principal seat of his kingdom at Scone, where he founded his monastery, the charter of which throws an important side-light on the progress of events in Aberdeenshire. The charter is signed by Rothri or Ruadri, Earl of Mar, and Gartnach or Gartnait, Earl of Buchan, both of them of the old Celtic stock, yet appearing at Alexander's Court under the title not of mormaer but of *comes* or earl, and having a recognised place in the constitutional body of seven earls which long played a prominent part in Scottish affairs. Probably, indeed, the change of style implied as yet no change in their relations to their provinces: they were earls at Court and mormaers as of old among their own people. For in the second group of entries in the 'Book of Deer' we find the same Ruadri, years after Alexander had been succeeded by David, witnessing, as mormaer of Mar, a grant by the same Gartnait as mormaer of Buchan. The Scone charter suggests, indeed, that it was Alexander's policy to draw the mormaers to Court, and convert them into councillors of State and officers

of the Crown; and this was the reign in which were instituted the offices of chancellor, constable, and sheriff. Alexander's policy in relation to the Church is seen in his filling the Monastery of Scone with Augustinian canons-regular from Yorkshire, in his establishing the new sees of Dunkeld and Moray, and in his appointments of ecclesiastics from the south to these bishoprics and to St Andrews. The gift of a bishop of non-Celtic race and southern tongue does not appear to have evoked a spirit of gratitude among the Celts of Moray. With Angus, the son of Lulach's daughter and successor of Maelsnechtan in the "kingship," at their head, we find them in alliance with the turbulent men of the Mearns—Aberdeenshire quiescent and the territories on both sides of it in eruption. Alexander's narrow escape at Invergowrie was promptly followed by his raising a force in Fife with which he pursued the insurgents across the Mounth (1116).

Soon after the accession of David he likewise had his expedition to the north, where the Gaelic chiefs and people were more restive than ever under the pressure of the new feudal barons. In 1130 a body of insurgents organised beyond the Spey by Malcolm, an illegitimate son of the late King Alexander, and Earl Angus, now an old man, passed through Banffshire and Mar, crossed the Cairn-a-Mounth, and were encountered at Stracathro by Edward the High Constable, son of Siward, Earl of Mercia, and cousin of King David. The undisciplined Celts were unable to withstand the well-directed attack of the royal army, and a rout and disorderly flight ensued, Earl Angus himself being among the slain. Edward pursued the fugitives as far as the Spey, and, according to a chronicler of the time, obtained possession of "the whole of that large territory." Celtic

risings under Highland chieftains continued intermittently to disturb the country. The famous "plantation of Moray" under Malcolm IV., when a wholesale removal of the Gaelic inhabitants took place and strangers from the south were put in possession of the land, was followed by new rebellions. Wyntoun records that Alexander II. suppressed one of these in the west, and

> "Owre the Mounth theyne passed he sene,
> And held his Yhule in Abbyrdene."

In the reign of Alexander I. it is found that several towns have sprung into existence. By his charter to the Scone monastery he granted to the monks a dwelling in each of his "principal towns," and these were Edinburgh, Stirling, Inverkeithing, Perth, and Aberdeen. This is the earliest mention of Aberdeen in the documents of history. It was barely yet half a century since the Norman Conquest, but a new and progressive population had established itself in Scotland, and, apart from the wars of kings and chiefs, a silent revolution had set in which was changing the whole drift and spirit of the national life. Bodies of Teutonic settlers had built little towns by the sea or on the greater rivers, and formed themselves into communities bound together by mutual interests of trade and defence. Aberdeen has its place, it would seem, among the earliest of these communities. It may probably, like Berwick, have been a Viking station before the great immigration, but on this subject history is silent. Aberdon was its original name—a name still preserved in the adjective Aberdonian and the Latin Aberdonensis. Apardion is a form that comes to us through the Norse sagas. Centuries had elapsed since St Machar had planted his monastery on the high bank of the Don, and the Celtic name Aberdon had doubtless been in use among the monks and the people among whom they lived

and laboured long before the new trading and maritime community was formed. The old name had been adopted by the new settlers, and whatever may have been the original vowel sound in the last syllable, it was with them the *ee* so characteristic of the Aberdeenshire dialect, and so indicative of affinity with the German tongue. In the vicinity of the city grew up the hamlets of Gilcomston and Ruthrieston, the names of which combine a Celtic personal name with the Saxon "town." Ruthrieston is doubtless the town of the mormaer Rothri. How soon the immigration into the north-east set in is unknown, but from the days of Malcolm Canmore an intermittent stream of Flemings, Anglo-Saxons, and Scandinavians had been coming to the Scottish seaports as peaceful settlers to establish trade and pursue their handicrafts. The foundation of the Church of St Nicholas would mark an epoch in the history of the city if its date could be ascertained. Probably St Nicholas was not the earliest edifice consecrated to public worship in the town, and Professor Cooper places the building of the church towards the middle of the twelfth century, when, as he suggests, it may have been erected on the ruins of a preceding church destroyed in the Norsemen's raid.[1] Two visits of Norsemen took place in the early days of Aberdeen. About the middle of the twelfth century Swein Asleif's son spent a month at Apardion, where he found Malcolm, King of Scots, and was well entertained;[2] and the Heimskringla tells of the buccaneering King Eystein bringing his ships to Apardion, where he killed many people and wasted the city.[3]

The oldest of the city charters, granted by William the

[1] Cartularium Ecclesiæ Sancti Nicholai Aberdonensis, vol. ii. p. xix.
[2] Anderson's Orkneyinga Saga, p. 155.
[3] Book of Bon-Accord, p. 25.

Lion about 1180, discloses the fact that in the second quarter of the century the burgesses were already united together and with their neighbours in other communities under a "free Hanse" or set of trading privileges. By this charter William confirmed to his burgesses of Aberdeen, to all burgesses of Moray, and to all his burgesses dwelling to the north of the Mounth, "their free Hanse, to be held where they will and when they will, as freely and peaceably, fully and honourably," as their ancestors had enjoyed it in the days of King David his grandfather. By a second charter of somewhat later date King William declared his burgesses of Aberdeen free from the payment of toll on their own goods throughout his whole kingdom. There were two federations of Scottish burghs in David's time, if not before it. One was the Court of the Four Burghs—Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling—still represented in the Convention of Royal Burghs; the second was this "Hanse" of Aberdeen and other trans-Grampian communities, a prototype and precursor of the famous Hanseatic League of the North Sea and Baltic cities. Merchant leagues and guilds arose out of the conditions of the time. The result of David's grant was to draw the merchants of Aberdeen, Banff, Elgin, and Inverness into a union that would help them in defending their several and corporate rights. They gave reciprocal privileges in their markets, and set apart districts where particular towns were to have the right of exclusive trading.

William the Lion frequently visited Aberdeen, where he established a mint and built a royal residence between the Green and the Dee, which then flowed along the site of the modern Guild Street. This residence he gifted after a time to the Trinity or Red Friars for a monastery, apparently the first establishment possessed by that order in Scotland. King William also granted to the Trinity Friars the lands

of Banchory and Cowie, with other possessions, including salmon-fishings and mills in different parts of the district. This example was followed by his successor, Alexander II., who was a patron of the Dominican order, and established the Black Friars in his residence and garden on Schoolhill, where no doubt the Yule referred to by Wyntoun was spent. A charter of 1222 throws light on the conditions under which the burgesses carried on their business. Their weekly market was held on Saturday, and to this market the traders from other places might repair under the king's protection, provided they bought or sold no merchandise elsewhere within the sheriffdom. The cloth-market was reserved exclusively for the burgesses, except between Ascension Day and the beginning of August, when outsiders might buy or sell cloth and other merchandise along with them. The charter also established a merchant guild, from which, being craftsmen and not merchants, the fullers and weavers are expressly excluded; and the guild merchants received a monopoly of the cloth manufacture, "dyed or shorn," within the sheriffdom, a monopoly which seems to have been in existence in David's time. Traffic in hides and wool, the great staples of export, was also restricted to the burgh mart. An incidental prohibition is laid in this charter on the multiplication of taverns, but an exemption is made to the extent of one house in each town "where a knight is lord of the town and dwells therein." By two charters of Alexander III.—the one granted at Kintore in 1273 and the other at Kincardine in 1277—the burgesses of Aberdeen obtained the right to hold a yearly fair of two weeks from the day of the Holy Trinity, and were declared, along with their servants, to be free from poinding of goods save for their own debts and obligations.

The origin of Banff as a burgh is contemporary with that of Aberdeen. Cullen, Inverurie, and Kintore have their

places likewise among the earliest of the royal burghs of Scotland, as is shown by royal grants of "tofts" or building sites to the Church; and numerous charters bear witness to the frequent presence of the kings at their royal castle in the neighbourhood of Kintore.

The last document in the 'Book of Deer'—the Latin charter by David—is a practical intimation that a new chapter of Aberdeenshire history had been opened. By this charter the king declares the clerics to be free from all lay interference and undue exaction, "as it is written in their book, and as they pleaded at Banff and swore at Aberdeen." In other words, they were not to be prejudiced in the enjoyment of their old rights and immunities. It was at Banff that David gave his charter to the Priory of Urquhart, his northern cell of the Monastery of Dunfermline; and as this charter with reference to Deer was executed in Aberdeen, it is probable that the proceedings to which it refers had in both instances taken place before him. Of these proceedings the transference of authority from the northern rulers to the King of Scotland is the obvious explanation. The charter may also have been intended as an assurance that the interests of the monastery would not suffer by the change in Church organisation.

Various of the possessions conferred upon the monks of the Celtic monastery of Deer can still be identified, as Aberdour, Aden, Altrie, Auchmachar, Biffie, Ellon, Elrick, Pitfour, and Skillymarno. The old place-names are generally recognisable in their modern forms, but the stone landmarks by which others of the lands are defined have disappeared, and with them all means of identification. It may be assumed, however, that the medieval possessions of the monastery are included among those of the Cistercian abbey that took its place, of which complete lists are extant. The gift by Gart-

nait and Eté has the peculiarity that the lands which were its subject were free from all exactions, "with the gift of them to Cormac, Bishop of Dunkeld." The explanation seems to be that Nectan, who witnesses the deed as Bishop of "Abberdeon," was exercising his functions as a suffragan or subordinate bishop. "Cormauch," indeed, is one of the four traditionary bishops who presided over the Church in the north-east before the see of Aberdeen was established. Besides Nectan the document is witnessed by Leot, Abbot of Brechin; Ruadri, mormaer of Mar; Matadin, the brehon; and Domongart, ferleighin of Turbruad or Turriff. In another document Cormac, Abbot of Turriff, appears; while a third, by which Colban and Eva, with the chief of the Clan Morgan, mortmain all the endowments, bears the character of a minute of public proceedings at Ellon, of which the "goodmen" of the district were witnesses. Ellon was the administrative capital of Buchan, and the head-courts of the mormaers and first earls were held on the Moothill, or Earl's hill, a slight elevation near the bank of the Ythan. The ferleighin, of whom Domongart of Turriff is the only example recorded in Aberdeenshire history, was originally the scribe, but later his duty included that of teacher, and was associated, occasionally at least, with the position of archdeacon.[1] Another ecclesiastical office, not mentioned in the 'Book of Deer,' but strongly in evidence with regard to the holding of property at Ellon, was that of scoloc or scholar. In some cases the scolocs seem to have been husbandmen holding or cultivating lands under the clergy. In common with the old Columban monastery on the Ugie, the Monastery of Turriff, which was dedicated to St Congan, one of the Irish followers of St Columba, had passed into oblivion until recalled by the discovery, in 1860, of the 'Book of Deer.'

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. v. pp. 76, 77, pref.

The bishopric of Aberdeen dates from about 1150, but the arrangement of temporalities was not completed at the death of David in 1153, and it was not till 1157 that the new see was confirmed by the bull of Pope Adrian IV. (Nicholas Brakespeare). The revenues assigned to the bishop were on a magnificent scale, including the church of Aberdeen, the church of St Machar, the whole town of Old Aberdeen, the church of St Nicholas of Aberdeen, the tithe of the burgh mill and of the *can* or customs of the port, important fishery rights on the Don with the tithe of the Cruives and several other fishings, a net on the Dee and tithes of the whole river and of the crops on its banks, the tithe of the king's revenue of Aberdeen and the burghs between the Dee and Spey, the tithe of Baldwyniston both of corn and fish, and the tithe of Badfothel (Pitfodels), the town of Rayne, Clatt with its church, the town and monastery of Mortlach with five churches and the dependent monastery of Cloveth (Cabrach), the churches of Rayne, Daviot, Auchterless, Invercruden, Belhelvie, Birse, Drumoak, and Banchory-Devenick, with their respective pertinents, the "land of Ellon which Master Philip held," the town and church of Fetternear, the "town which belonged to Bastian the presbyter," and the "town which belonged to Achelis, beside Aberdeen." To these endowments the barony of Murthill (Murtle) was added by Malcolm IV., the lands of Birse by William the Lion, and the free forests of Birse and Fetternear by Alexander II. By the middle of the thirteenth century Aberdeen was the third in revenue of the Scottish sees, and in virtue of his territorial possessions and power its bishop was one of the magnates of the kingdom. Nectan seems to have died while the proceedings connected with the erection of the bishopric were still uncompleted, and the papal bull is addressed to Edward, Bishop of Aberdeen, who had been Chancellor under David,

and whose non-Celtic lineage may be inferred from his name.

Several of the early bishops were men of note, and some of them took a leading part in national affairs. Bishop Gilbert de Stirling, according to Boece, recovered the forests of Birse and Clova from the "wicked Highlanders"; Bishop Ralph de Lambley, who had been Abbot of Arbroath, is distinguished as a man of ascetic habits, who made his visitations on foot; Bishop Peter de Ramsay was one of the councillors of the realm during the youth of Alexander III.; and Bishop Hugh de Bennam attended the Council of Lyons, and appears to have been murdered at his residence at Loch Goul. Henry le Chen or Cheyne held the see through the War of Independence and the reign of Robert Bruce.

The reorganisation of the Church included also the division of the country into rural deaneries and parishes. In Aberdeenshire and Banffshire there were the deaneries of Mar, Buchan, and the Garioch. At a later date Buchan, which included Lower Banffshire, was divided into two, a dean being given to Boyne. Aberdeen and its vicinity were made a separate deanery, and Strathbogie was a deanery of Moray. Territorially these rural deaneries corresponded generally with the modern presbyteries.

The new settlers who were obtaining grants of land all over the country were strangers to the monastic system of the Celtic Church. Following the arrangements they were accustomed to, they would build a church, provide for its maintenance and ministrations by a moderate gift of land and by tithes of all produce, and appoint a clergyman to attend to the spiritual wants of themselves and their dependents. In this way the manor became the parish. The old monastic system had decayed, and, though in Deer we have an exception, the possessions of the chief monasteries

were secularised and in the hands of laymen. Since Malcolm Canmore and Queen Margaret set the example with their great foundation at Dunfermline a new order of abbeys and priories, distinguished by splendid architecture and many of them richly endowed, had been springing up. In Aberdeenshire there were the Abbey of Deer, which took the place of the old monastery, and the small priories of Fyvie and Monymusk. In 1275 we find the Aberdeenshire parishes marked off very much as they have come down to us, with secular clergy provided for by teinds and stipends. But even at this early date the parish clergy were heavily mulcted by their diocesan or conventual superiors, and obliged to depend upon the piety and benevolence of their people, whose assistance, voluntary at first, soon became recognised dues rigorously exacted, leading ultimately to the alienation of the people and the overthrow of the Church.

The change in the status of the two mormaers seems to have rapidly followed on the change of title, for in the time of William the Lion Aberdeen was a vicecomitatus or sheriffdom. The jurisdiction of the sheriff absorbed the functions which the mormaers had formerly exercised on behalf of the Crown, and he made periodical justiciary circuits through the county. The new institutions and system of government, however, are associated with the advent of a new ruling class, and a member of the reigning house comes upon the scene as Earl of Garioch.

The first of the new settlers in Aberdeenshire of whom we have distinct record is Bartolf, or Bartholomew, the founder of the great county family of Leslie. Bartolf is presented to us as a Saxon notable who came over from Hungary in the suite of the family of which Queen Margaret was a member, rose to high favour and position at the Scottish Court, and received extensive grants of land in Fife, Angus,

the Mearns, and Aberdeenshire. The Aberdeenshire grants included Cushnie and Lesselyn or Leslie, from which latter the family took its name. The oldest charter of the Leslie family, which is also the oldest charter of any lands in Aberdeenshire except Church lands, dates from the last quarter of the twelfth century, and being a charter to Malcolm, son of Bartolf, is hardly compatible with the idea of this Bartolf's having been in the retinue of the Atheling family on its return from Hungary a hundred years before; but it fixes the priority of the Leslies among the families that became permanently established in Aberdeenshire. The charter is historically important for another reason. It is addressed by David, Earl of Huntingdon and the Garioch, to all his vassals, clergy and laity, Franks (or Normans) and English, Flemings and Scots, and proves that in the latter part of the twelfth century a colony of Flemings was settled in the centre of the county.[1] Multitudes of Flemings who had settled in England, or been engaged as mercenaries in Stephen's wars, came north in consequence of the edict of banishment issued by Henry II. against foreigners soon after his accession (1155). They formed little settlements in many parts of the country, established trade and handicrafts, particularly weaving, and reclaimed waste land. One of these settlements was at Crutertston or Courtieston, in the parish of Leslie, named probably after a Fleming settler; and Flinder, still prominent among the place-names of the neighbourhood, is a further record of this medieval colony.

How powerful the Fleming interest was and how deep its roots were struck are shown by the fact that two centuries after Earl David's time the privilege of "Fleming law" was still recognised in the contemporary charters as appertaining

[1] Spalding Club Collections, p. 546; Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. lxxxi, pref.

to the descendants of the old settlers at Courtieston,[1] while similar communities, with similar privilege of government by their own law, were established up and down the country, and persons described by the name Fleming or Flandrensis constantly appear in the charters. A few years before the date of the charter by Earl David to Malcolm the son of Bartolf, King Malcolm IV. bestowed the lands of Innes, just beyond the Spey, on Berowald, a Fleming who had been assisting him in clearing away the old population of that troublesome region. Another Fleming leader, named Freskin, obtained lands in the north and south of Scotland, and his descendants, as Earls of Sutherland, and in the person of Sir Andrew Moray, the associate of Wallace and Bruce, were to play a prominent part in northern history, and to be intermingled with the great Aberdeenshire families of Cumyn and Cheyne. The Sutherland earldom was earned by William Freskin's services in suppressing an insurrection in the far north in 1197, and under Alexander II. the like services were rendered again and again. The hardy and resourceful Flemings were among the first pioneers in the settlement of lands exposed to the full force of Celtic resentment and attack. They were also the pioneers of industry in north-eastern Scotland. Wool was a staple export of Aberdeen, but it was also spun and woven by the Flemish settlers in the rising city as well as in the interior of the county. They were traders, artificers, and fishers, and the planters of towns and of these little communities that could live and thrive in the midst of a Celtic people, who saw with dismay the ceaseless encroachments of the stranger. Such immigrants could not fail to impress their character, customs, and language upon the land of their adoption. To this period—namely, the earlier part of the reign of William the Lion — may be

[1] Spalding Club Collections, p. 548.

assigned the beginning, as regards rural Aberdeenshire, of the great transformation which within half a century was to give it a new population, speaking the Lowland Scotch tongue, and even that specially Teutonic form of it, the "Broad Buchan," which has held its place as a distinct dialect for more than six hundred years.

The creation of the earldom of Garioch by Malcolm IV. or William the Lion, and its bestowal on their brother David, who afterwards became English Earl of Huntingdon, must be regarded as one of the great landmarks in this history. It was a political event arising out of this transformation, accelerating its progress, and contributing to its completeness. We may also see in it the beginning of that rule by great families of non-Celtic origin which now becomes the most assertive element in the history of these counties.

The administrative headquarters of the earldom were at Inverurie, and for three generations the heads of the Leslie family held the office of Constable of Inverurie and keeper of the castle, their functions including command in war, the administration of justice, and general supervision of the earldom in the absence of its lord. Earl David was for the most part an absentee. The best-known passage in his career is his participation in the Third Crusade (1190-1192) by the side of the Lion-hearted Richard; and in this enterprise he was accompanied by some Aberdeenshire men, including Malcolm the younger brother of Norman Leslie the Constable, and one of the Durwards recently come to Mar. Unlike so many of the crusaders, Earl David survived the campaign against Saladin; but of its hardships and dangers he had his share, including shipwreck and sale into slavery, from which he had the good fortune to be bought back to freedom by some of his countrymen. The Abbey of Lindores may have been founded before he went to the

crusade, but its charters are dated after his return, including the foundation-charter, which recites that he had founded it for the welfare of his relatives, beginning with King David, and bestows upon it the churches of Fintray, Inverurie (with the chapel of Monkeigie), Durno, Premnay, Rathmuriel, Insch, Culsalmond, and Kennethmont, with all their endowments.

After the death of Ruadri two claimants for the succession to the earldom of Mar appeared in the persons of Morgund, or Morgrund, and Gilchrist. Morgund's legitimacy was disputed, and apparently the issue turned on conflicting principles of feudal, canon, and Celtic law. King William, who had just come to the throne, decided at first in favour of Gilchrist, who though of Celtic blood was connected through his wife with influential Norman and Saxon houses. His daughter, Orabilis, was the wife of Malcolm de Lundin, who had property in Forfarshire, and their son was Thomas the Doorward, first of the Aberdeenshire Durwards. After a few years the decision as to the earldom was reversed, Morgund receiving the title and the upland territories of his predecessors, while Gilchrist had the more fruitful country between the Dee and Don, from Coull eastward to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, including the thanage of Onele. Gilchrist gave to the new Culdee Priory of Monymusk the churches of St Andrew of Alford, St Marnan of Leochel, and St Wolok of Ruthven and Invernochty, together with certain lands; but the confirmation charter of these gifts by John, Bishop of Aberdeen, omits the Ruthven and Invernochty churches, doubtless because, while Gilchrist claimed them, they really belonged to Earl Morgund. Thomas Durward succeeded Gilchrist and revived his claim to the earldom, but without success. Possessing these extensive Aberdeenshire estates, along with others in Fife and Forfar, Durward was a man of wealth, and his

benefactions to the Church included gifts of the forest of Trostach, between the Dee and the Cannie, with the church of Kinnernie, to the Abbey of Arbroath, and the church of Echt to the Abbey of Scone. Two strongholds of the Durwards, the Castle of Coull and the Peel of Lumphanan, probably dated from the time of Thomas Durward, and he erected at Kincardine O'Neil (Onele) a stone bridge across the Dee on the main road between north and south by the Cairn-a-Mounth. The Dee was also spanned at the same period, it is believed, by bridges at Durris and near the mouth of the Muick, for it was an age of enterprise and progress far in advance of the dark centuries that were to come.

By 1233 Thomas had been succeeded both in the estates and in the office of Hostiary by his still more celebrated son Alan Durward, who is called Earl of Athole in a charter of this year confirming his father's gift of the wood of Trostach, as also in a royal charter of 1234, but whose connection with the Athole earldom must have been of short duration, and possibly arose from marriage with the heiress, who had become a widow in 1232, or from guardianship of her son. Justiciar for many years, married to an illegitimate daughter of Alexander II., and himself an ambitious and self-assertive man, Alan Durward was head of the opposition to the Cumyns. In Aberdeenshire he built and endowed a hospital beside his father's bridge across the Dee; at Montrose he founded a monastery of the new order of Dominican or Preaching Friars. He had a charter from the abbot and convent of Arbroath of the lands of Banchory-Devenick, which were converted into a free barony, subject to certain services and rents; in Moray he also acquired lands, and he renewed the claim to the earldom of Mar, but failed, as his father had done, to oust the Celtic earl in possession.

The Scoto-Norman de Bysets or Bissets appear about the

same time as the Durwards, and as lords of Aboyne were their immediate neighbours in Deeside. They had wide ramifications in England, and were among the barons who early acquired possessions on the Border. The first of them on record in Scotland is Henry, who witnessed a charter of William the Lion before 1198, and within the next few years several members of the family were settled in the north. Walter was Lord of Aboyne, and about the same date he founded the preceptory of the Knights Templars at Culter, erected a chapel and other buildings, and gave to the preceptory the church of Aboyne. The Bysets were connected by marriage with several of the Scoto-Norman houses, and Walter's wife, a sister of Alan of Galloway, the grandfather of John Baliol, the competitor and king, was nearly related to Patrick, the young Earl of Athole, who had apparently been under the tutelage of Alan Durward. The turning-point in the fortunes of the Bysets, and one of the most striking incidents in the vicissitudes of families, occurred at the famous tournament at Haddington of 1242, when Athole entered the lists against the Lord of Aboyne, unhorsed him, and on the following night was burnt to death in the house where he slept. The Bysets were strongly suspected of being implicated in the affair, and they had many enemies among the jealous and turbulent adventurers who were so keenly pushing their interests in Scotland. From the gathering storm John Byset sought refuge in Ireland, while Walter tried to avert it by getting his chaplains to excommunicate all who were concerned in the murder, and by taking temporary shelter with the king; but ultimately he had to retire to England, and yielding to pressure, the king decreed outlawry and forfeiture against the leading members of the family. Walter took service under Henry III. of England, who had on hand the war in France; and when Henry afterwards sent an army

to the north in menace of Scotland, so prominent a knight could not in the circumstances escape the suspicion of being the instigator of this movement, and the hostility towards him in Scotland continued unabated till his death in Arran in 1251. The forfeiture was ultimately removed in favour of Thomas Byset, the nephew and heir of Walter, probably at the instance of Alan Durward, one of whose charters, in 1256, when he had control of affairs, is witnessed by Thomas Byset; but the Bysets did not recover their former importance, and most of their northern possessions passed by the marriage of heiresses into other families. They are represented to this day, however, by the Bissets of Lessendrum, who have been in continuous possession since the thirteenth century and are one of the oldest Scottish families.

There is no more striking and memorable passage in the history of north-eastern Scotland than that which concerns the sudden emergence, the brilliant reign for nearly a century, and the sudden and tragical extinction of the Scoto-Norman family of Comyn or Cumyn. Robert de Comines, its founder in Britain, came over with the Conqueror, was sent by him to subdue the north, and perished at Durham, his successor being rewarded with extensive lands in Tynedale and elsewhere. Another of his descendants, William Cumyn, came to Scotland and was chancellor in David's reign, but afterwards returned to England, where he became Bishop of Durham. Richard Cumyn, who inherited the family estates in Northumberland, was principal minister of King William, and his son, William Cumyn, who in 1189 succeeded to the estates in the south of Scotland as well as those in Northumberland, acquired by royal gift the manor of Lenzie and lands of Kirkintilloch, was Justiciar of Scotland in 1209 or earlier, and for the next quarter of a century had a hand in all the great transactions of State. The first event in his life that

directly concerns this history is his marriage with Marjory, daughter and heiress of Fergus, the last Celtic Earl of Buchan. This event, fraught with important consequences for Buchan and the north, appears to have taken place in 1210. Nearly a century had elapsed since Gartnait appeared as a feudal earl at the first Alexander's Court at Scone, and the countess, there can be no doubt, had been brought up in the ways of Norman fashion. Cumyn was the first statesman of the age, probably also the wealthiest nobleman, and through his vassals and dependents he could bring into the field a considerable army. In 1222 he was appointed guardian of the earldom of Moray, in which capacity he suppressed a Gillespoc rebellion, capturing and beheading the insurgent chief and his sons; and in 1228 he had the lordship of Badenoch and Lochaber conferred on his son Walter, afterwards by marriage Earl of Menteith, and for a time the head of the Cumyn interest. Walter was the second of William Cumyn's two sons by a marriage prior to that with the heiress of Buchan; and Richard, the elder, had the succession to the hereditary Cumyn estates in the south of Scotland. Matrimony, war, and statecraft were profitable to the Cumyns. They had several residences in East Aberdeenshire, their chief seat being at Kinedar (corrupted into "King Edward"), between Turriff and Banff, where a castle was erected on a position of natural strength such as had been chosen as sites for the older Celtic strongholds. The date of Kinedar Castle must have been before 1272, when the second earl gave its tithes to his hospital at Turriff. Another of their seats was at Kelly, near Haddo House, the modern residence of the Earls of Aberdeen, where Alexander III. was a guest in 1272. Others were at Slains, Rattray, and Dundarg. The earl's courts were held at Ellon as in the former Celtic days, but each residence was a fortress of defence, whenever defence

became necessary, and a minor administrative centre from which the district around it was supervised.

It is, however, as pious founders that Earl William and Countess Marjory are most prominent in the Aberdeenshire records. Before the death of William the Lion the countess had granted to the monks of Arbroath the churches of Turriff, Inverugie, Strichen, and Rathen; while the earl and countess together gave the same monks the patronage of Bethelnie with all its pertinents, and a toft in the village of Bethelnie with common pasture and other "easements." To the monks of St Andrews the earl granted lands in Fyvie, and another of his ecclesiastical benefactions was a gift of the rent of lands in Strichen to the chapel of St Mary beside his castle in the town of Rattray—a hamlet which was to become for a time a royal burgh and then to pass into decay, and ultimately to disappear, through the closing of its harbour by sand. But the great ecclesiastical work of Earl William was the erection of the Abbey of St Mary of Deer. The old monastery now passes away, its possessions being transferred to the abbey, which rose on a new site three-quarters of a mile farther up the river and on its opposite bank, in a marshy and wooded hollow between two eminences, also wooded, as is implied in their names of Sapling Brae and Aikey Brae. Like the other churches of the period, that of the Deer Abbey was in the First Pointed or Early English style, the arches lancet-shaped, with double mouldings cut in red sandstone laboriously transported from Byth some twelve miles away. One hundred and fifty feet long, ninety feet wide across the transepts, and thirty-eight feet across the nave and aisle, the erection of such a structure in central Buchan is itself an evidence that a revolution had taken place in industry as well as art. Its first occupants were a colony of Cistercians brought from King David's Priory of Kinloss,

whither their predecessors had been transplanted from Melrose in 1150. His church was a work in which the great earl took pride, and on which he expended liberally of his wealth; and within its precincts his remains and those of the countess were entombed.

On the death of Earl William in 1233 his son Alexander succeeded to the earldom, and Walter, Lord of Badenoch and Earl of Menteith, a man of more mature years and experience, stepped into his father's place as first of the nobles in prestige and influence. For a time Earl Alexander makes no particular figure in history, but later on he was appointed to his father's office of Justiciar in succession to Alan Durward, and ultimately combined with it that of High Constable, which came to him on the death of his father-in-law, Roger de Quenci, Earl of Winchester, by whom it had been held. Through his wife, a great-granddaughter of David, Earl of the Garioch,—she was a cousin of John Baliol, the claimant and king,—he came into possession on Earl Roger's death of estates in Galloway, Fife, and the Lothians, and took his place as sheriff and chief territorial magnate of Wigtown.[1] In Aberdeenshire he endowed in 1261 the Holy Rood of Newburgh, a hospital or cell of the Abbey of Deer, and in 1273 a hospital at Turriff for a master, six chaplains, and thirteen poor husbandmen of Buchan. One of the most salient incidents in the career of Earl Alexander arose out of the ambition of Alan Durward. An open conflict between the parties headed by these two Aberdeenshire notables began on the death of Alexander II. in 1249, when obstruction was raised by the English party to the coronation of the young king Alexander III., on the ground that he had not been knighted. Walter Cumyn carried the predominant sense of the magnates with him in de-

[1] Sir H. Maxwell, Dumfries and Galloway, pp. 65, 68.

manding that this formality should be disregarded, and that the Bishop of St Andrews should proceed at once with the coronation ceremony. After the coronation and the futile attempt of Henry III. to get it annulled by the Pope, there arose a long and bitter struggle over the questions of regency and tutelage. Durward was ousted from the Justiciarship and the Abbot of Dunfermline from the office of Chancellor, the Earl of Buchan taking the place of the former and Walter Cumyn exercising a general control over the course of affairs. After the child-marriage between the king and a daughter of Henry III. various emissaries were sent north, among them Simon de Montfort, on ostensible missions of public policy and secret missions of intrigue. The seizure of Edinburgh Castle gave the Durward and English party control of the king and queen, and a regency was formed in which Durward was associated with Peter de Ramsay, Bishop of Aberdeen, Malcolm, Earl of Fife, and other prominent members of the party. The Pope's intervention to the extent of excommunicating Durward and the English party having been successfully invoked by the Bishop of St Andrews, the Cumyns in turn seized the king, the queen, and the great seal at Kinross in 1257, and reinstated themselves in power. Durward fled to England. With statesmanlike moderation the Cumyn party formed a new regency, in which, while retaining a majority, they made room for him and some members of his party. Walter Cumyn shortly afterwards died, and the Earl of Buchan became head of the Cumyn interest and leading statesman for the next thirty years. Durward while in power revived his claim to the earldom of Mar; but after the compromise he seems to have worked amicably with both the Aberdeenshire earls, with whom, after the battle of Largs, he took part in the expedition against the Hebridean chiefs.

In the latter part of the twelfth century Duncan, Earl of Fife, was feudal lord of Strathaven, or Upper Banffshire, a peer of Celtic descent, whose ancestor, however, was agent of Malcolm Canmore in the overthrow of Macbeth, and whose family had all along been associated with the new order and the new people. There is on record an agreement by which the Bishop of Moray made over to Earl Duncan the possessions of the old Columban cells scattered up and down the district, in return for a fixed annual payment, and the earl's barony was erected into a parish, and Andrew, a non-Celtic priest of Brechin, appointed its incumbent. Duncan was succeeded in Strathaven by his son Malcolm, and in Strathbogie, which he also possessed, by his second son David, called after it de Strathbolgin, whose successors carried this surname to the house of Athole. Through marriage with one of the three heiresses of Alan Durward, the Earls of Fife succeeded to a large part of the Durward possessions in West Aberdeenshire, and held them until the forfeiture, early in the fifteenth century, of Robert, Duke of Albany, who had acquired the earldom in the same way.

Among the other early settlers were the Le Neyms, who had been established in Berwickshire and Tweeddale, and came north in the days of William the Lion. By the middle of the thirteenth century the Le Neyms had disappeared, and in their place at St Fergus was the Norman family of Le Chen or Cheyne. Reginald le Chen, though his name does not appear in the Durward-Cumyn struggle of 1255-1257, was one of the magnates who in 1258 entered into the treaty with the Welsh, and in 1267 he was Chamberlain of Scotland. Besides his Buchan estate he held lands in Ayrshire and elsewhere. In Aberdeen he founded and endowed the house of Carmelite or White Friars beside King William's Maturine establishment on the bank of the Dee. The Carmelites had

just come to Scotland, where they established nine convents, another of which was at Banff; and they held considerable property in the city and county of Aberdeen. One of Reginald's sons, also known as Sir Reginald le Chen, lived through the wars, and by marriage with Mary de Moravia, co-heiress of the Fleming house of Freskin, added to his territorial possessions in Buchan the manor-place and Castle of Duffus and other lands in Moray, as well as estates in Caithness and West Lothian. A relative, probably cousin, of the younger Sir Reginald, and grandson of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, was Henry le Chen, Bishop of Aberdeen, who had his share in the troubles attending the struggle for the throne. Contemporary with the Le Neyms, and also from the Border, were the Corbets, who acquired possessions in Gamrie, and Peter de Pollock, who came from Renfrewshire to Mulben, and had lands on both sides of the Spey; the Lambertons were settled at Bourtie before or during the days of the first Earl of the Garioch. Michael de Ferenderach, whose name is derived from Frendraught, witnessed a charter of William the Lion about 1202, and his descendants remained in possession until after the battle of Bannockburn, when they incurred sentence of forfeiture. It is evident from the early charters that even outside the Lowland earldoms the land to a large extent had passed into new hands.

Side by side, however, with the strangers by whom the county had been colonised were families of the old Celtic stock having lands confirmed to them by charter; and among the thanes, whom we now find exercising fixed authority over the lands not assigned to feudal lords, a few appear to have been descendants of the old toisechs. The Celtic land system was entirely broken up, and tribal ownership had disappeared. Great part of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire was held of the Crown in feudal tenure by the Earls of Buchan,

Garioch, Mar, and Fife, each of whom had his vassals. The tribal territories not placed under these lords became thanages, and were regarded as royal demesnes, the thane holding his land in feu-farm and paying an annual feu-duty, and the land being either cultivated by bondmen "natives" or let to free farmers. An early notice of thanage in Aberdeenshire is found in the charter of William the Lion of 1170 to the Bishop of Aberdeen of seventeen townships of Brass or Birse, together with the royal forest of Brass, and all the "natives" of the said lands, but excluding the king's thanes. Two generations later, in 1240, Alexander II. granted the whole lands of Birse to the bishop in free forest without exception, the thanage being thus extinguished. Between the Dee and Don in the time of Alexander III. there were the thanages of Aberdeen, Kintore, Onele, and Aboyne. The Aberdeen thanage included the town of Old Aberdeen, and no doubt the royal forest of Stocket, which was afterwards granted to the burgh of Aberdeen by Robert Bruce. Aboyne was a royal residence during the eclipse of the Bysets, and Alexander III. frequently occupied it after their reinvestiture. Onele was the Durward country, its status in the administrative system of this period being less than that of an earldom, though its thanes were among the most powerful men in the country. Kintore, with its lands of Thaneston and its royal keep of Hallforest, is prominent in the charter history for centuries as a thanage, and its territory included not only Kintore and Kinkell, which was partly north of the Don, but Kemnay, Kinnellar, Dyce, and Skene. This thanage was transferred to the Earl of Moray in 1375, to be held as a barony, with the bondmen, bond-service, "native men," and their issue, for military service. North of the Don there was the great thanage of Fermartyn or Formartine, occupying most of the territory between the Ythan and the

Ury and lower Don, with its principal seat at Fyvie, and having at its eastern extremity the much smaller thanage of Belhelvie. West of the thanage of Fermartyn was that of Conveth, represented by the modern parish of Inverkeithney, adjacent to which were the thanages of Aberchirder and Netherdale. There were also the great thanage of Boyne, with its forest, and the smaller ones of Glendowachy or Doune, and Munbré or Mountblairy.

Thanages were much more numerous in the north-east than elsewhere, and very few are met with south of Forfarshire. They emerge at a comparatively late stage of the transition epoch, after most of the country was in effective possession of the new feudal lords. Few of the thanedoms survived the wars of independence and succession: either the lands reverted to the Crown and were granted anew as feudal baronies, or the thanes, where the name survived, were transformed into hereditary landholders, paying to the Crown a fixed rent. Along with the thanages there was another class of Crown lands called "shires," and we find the shires of Clatt, Tullynessle, Rayne, and Daviot among the grants of King David to the bishopric of Aberdeen.

A peculiar significance attaches to the word *nativi* or "natives" in these early charters. The Church itself at this period had its thralls: in the Aberdeenshire records there is the case of Gillemor Scolgo, the "native liegeman" of the prior and convent of St Andrews on their lands of Tarland, who in 1222 had their licence to abide during their pleasure with Sir James, the son of Morgund, sometime Earl of Mar, in consideration of the yearly payment of a pound of wax, and on condition that whensoever they should be reclaimed both Gillemor and his sons, with all their belongings, should return to the prior and convent as their "native men" to dwell in such reasonable place as should be allotted to them.

The "native" or "neyf" was a serf, and the name suggests a bondage imposed upon a conquered population by immigrants. Mr Cosmo Innes, the great authority on the medieval law and history of Scotland, calls attention to the "great peaceful silent revolution which has never found its way into the pages of our historians," represented by the fact that the servile labour of the agricultural class, which had prevailed all over Europe, died out first in Scotland.[1] The last claim of serfdom proved in a Scotch court was in the Sheriff Court of Banff in 1364, when an assize found that three men were "the native and liege men" of Alexander, Bishop of Moray; but in 1388 Adam, Bishop of Aberdeen, granted a charter of the church lands of Murtle to Alderman William Chalmers, with the bondmen, natives, and their issue, who, however, are omitted in a subsequent charter of the same lands in 1402. In the early days of the new Lowland population serfdom was an institution in general practice, and the plea might be set up for it that it served the purpose of keeping the old inhabitants usefully employed and out of mischief. They were not chattels but serfs attached to the soil and transferable with it to new lords. Residence of a bondman for a year and a day in a free burgh made him a free man. The institution became attenuated and gradually died out. With partial exceptions in the cases of colliers, salters, and fishermen, it seems to have ceased in Scotland by about the end of the fourteenth century; but, as we have just seen, it is traceable in these counties down to that time.

The castles of Aberdeen and Banff were erected in the days of Alexander III. as defences against the Scandinavians, who were again threatening the peace of the country and meeting with their final discomfiture at the battle of Largs. The "snow tower" of Kildrummy, a royal castle and long

[1] Innes, Scotch Legal Antiquities, p. 159. Cf. p. 50.

the headquarters of the earldom of Mar, goes back to a much earlier period, and in the reign of Alexander II. we find his northern treasurer, Gilbert, Bishop of Caithness, adding seven towers to the original building and otherwise increasing its strength. Among the royal castles of the twelfth century was that of Inverurie, which with Dunnideer passed to the earldom of the Garioch. The Cumyns had their several castles in Buchan; the Cheynes were the builders of Ravenscraig on the Ugie; the Durwards had their strongholds at Coull and Lumphanan; the Earls of Mar had a castle at Migvie in the same district, and the Bysets one at Aboyne, of sufficient pretensions to be a royal residence. The ancient defensive works gradually gave place to durable structures of stone-and-lime, and as time advanced these new castles became numerous throughout the province. In their vicinity the immigrant settlers built "towns," over which the lord exercised his powers of regality, and his lands were portioned out among his retainers, who repaid him in rents, dues, and military service. It was the interest of the barons, at a time when their power rested upon the number of followers they could call to arms, to induce the former population to accept their rule, and doubtless many of the Celts fell in with the new order of things and ranged themselves under the banners of the southern lords.

Whatever means may have been employed to facilitate the fusion, we see the Celtic and Teutonic races rapidly coalescing when the Celtic dynasty of kings became extinct, towards the close of the thirteenth century. A time of great national prosperity and of rapid progress in wealth and civilisation had been experienced. A young and energetic people had come in and possessed the lands, had built towns and great churches, and had dotted baronial castles over the country. At the end of this period of "luve and le" Aberdeen had

its place as one of the most prosperous of Scottish towns, with a body of sturdy citizens jealously upholding their trading privileges and generally comporting themselves as a vigorous self-governing community. The country round it was in the hands of some of the most enlightened men of the age. Industrial communities had taken root all over the district. The new population had supplanted or absorbed the old Celtic inhabitants—entirely in the low country and to a large extent everywhere, except in a few of the remoter glens; and the counties of Aberdeen and Banff were occupied by a people which has not received any important additions from without or undergone any considerable ethnological change during the last six hundred years.

CHAPTER III.

THE WARS OF SUCCESSION AND INDEPENDENCE — ATTITUDE OF THE CUMYNS AND THE EARL OF MAR — ROBERT BRUCE AND THE MAR EARLDOM — MACDUFF AND THE REGENTS — ABERDEEN AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE—BUCHAN'S BORDER RAIDS—EDWARD I. IN ABERDEENSHIRE—WALLACE: POPULAR SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL CAUSE —EDWARD'S SECOND VISIT — CORONATION OF BRUCE—HIS WANDERINGS: IN ABERDEEN: ILLNESS—BATTLE OF BARRA AND DEVASTATION OF BUCHAN — DISAPPEARANCE OF THE CUMYNS — THE PART TAKEN BY ABERDEEN—"BON-ACCORD"—SECOND PARTITION OF THE COUNTIES —KING ROBERT'S CHARTER TO ABERDEEN: MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT — CIVIL WAR — ABERDEEN SACKED AND BURNED — BATTLE OF CULBLEAN—BEAUMONT AND MOWBRAY—THE PARLIAMENT OF ABERDEEN —PROGRESS OF THE BURGH—THE WOLF OF BADENOCH—LADY LINDSAY'S DEFENCE OF FYVIE — CATERANS — CLOSE OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

We now approach a time when Aberdeenshire men were foremost actors in more than one of the great crises of Scottish history, and when scenes that were to be turning-points in that history took place within the borders of the county. With the death of Alexander III. the bright and prosperous epoch of the national life came to an abrupt termination. First there was a brief pause; then came the beginning of the contentions, tumults, and wars, and for centuries Scotland's energies were to be wasted, its people impoverished, its civilisation stunted, and its blood poured forth. In the regency that was appointed on the death of Alexander the three northern "Guardians" were Alexander, Earl of Buchan; Duncan, Earl of Fife; and William Fraser,

Bishop of St Andrews, all connected with the north-east; while of the southern three one was John Cumyn of Badenoch. An early act of the regents was to appoint a commission to meet at Scone and to hear and terminate a dispute between Aberdeen and Montrose concerning the fairs of the two towns. From a petition by the aldermen (*præpositi*) and burgesses of Banff it appears that the Aberdeen fairs were attended every year by Montrose merchants, to the prejudice and injury, as was alleged, of Aberdeen and the whole northern province.[1] The question at issue appears to have turned upon the construction of King William's grant of a Free Hanse to Aberdeen and his trans-Grampian burgesses; but the troubles that came upon the country must have diminished the importance of the fair, and the question of privilege ceased to be agitated.

Of the northern regents, the Earl of Fife was assassinated, and the aged Earl of Buchan did not long survive. The son and successor of Buchan, Earl John, attended the Parliament of Brigham in 1290, and was a party to the treaty or contract for the marriage of the Maid of Norway, now Queen of Scotland, to the heir to the English throne. The death of the queen on her voyage from Norway was a new calamity for Scotland, followed as it was by the appearance of the ten claimants for the crown and their unanimous acknowledgment of Edward's claim of overlordship. Most of them were already his vassals in respect of estates in the north of England, but their resolution was confirmed by the general body of the nobility and higher clergy, who at the Norham conference agreed to the formal surrender into Edward's hands of the kingdom and its fortresses pending his decision on the question of who should be king. The Castle of

[1] Charters, &c., of the Royal Burgh of Aberdeen (1890), pp. 289, 290.

Aberdeen, with that of Kincardine, was accordingly committed to the charge of John de Guildford, and held by him during the seventeen months that elapsed before Baliol was declared to be rightful King of Scots. The claims of John Cumyn of Badenoch, founded on descent from King Donald Ban, having been set aside in favour of those of the descendants of Malcolm Canmore, Cumyn exerted his influence on the side of Baliol, to whose sister he was married. John, Earl of Buchan, who had fallen heir not only to the national offices but also to much of the influence of his father and grandfather in the country between the Dee and the Spey, identified himself on the whole with Edward's policy, though he took up arms against it during the brief interlude of Baliol's French alliance. Bishop Henry Cheyne, or le Chen, another eminent member of the Cumyn family connection, likewise supported the Baliol and English interests.

The Earls of Mar were now of the party opposed to the Cumyns. Earl Donald, son of Earl William who had acted with them in 1255-1257, was with King Edward at Perth and at Berwick, and appealed to him from a decision of the regents on the old subject of the territorial possessions of the earldom. Alan Durward was now dead, and through his daughter the Earl of Fife, her husband, had obtained a portion of the Aberdeenshire lands that had belonged to the Earls of Mar. Earl Donald went back to the old question of more than a century before, and complained that when William the Lion restored the earldom to Morgund, the son of Gyloclery, there were withheld "more than three hundred pounds of land," partly in demesne and partly in tenandry, and he asked, through Sir Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, that justice should be done him. One of Edward's first acts after the crown had been awarded

to Baliol, now known as King John, was in the character of overlord to address a letter to him requiring that Earl Donald should have leave to collect the arrears due from the bailiary of Aboyne and Glenmuick. Light is thrown on the intervention of Bruce and the drift of West Aberdeenshire politics in this trying time by an intimate connection that was springing up between the Bruces and the family of Mar. Earl Donald's daughter became the wife of young Robert Bruce, whose sister Christian married Gartney, Mar's son and successor.

On the accession of Baliol King Edward ordered his keeper of the castles of Aberdeen and Kincardine to give seisin of them to the new King of Scots; but Edward was exacting in the matter of the homage incidental to infeftment, and the nobility and people of Scotland were slow to render the required obeisance. Mar's appeal to Edward was followed by one from Macduff, uncle of the assassinated regent, respecting the guardianship of the earldom during the nonage of the heir, the result of which was that the Scottish king was ordered to pay damages. Edward now declared war against the King of France, who had refused to obey a summons to appear as vassal before the English king. Baliol, as an English landlord, attended an English Parliament on the subject of this war, and consented to yield up for it the revenues of his English estates for three years. As Scottish king he was ordered by Edward to lay an embargo on all Scottish ships and to furnish troops for an expedition into Gascony; and the presence and aid of the Cumyns, Bruce, the Earl of Mar, and other Scottish magnates were demanded by special writs of summons. A Scottish Parliament or Convention which met at Scone is of interest in relation to this history as the first Parliament

in which the burgh of Aberdeen is known to have been represented; and one of its resolutions was that all Englishmen holding office at the Scottish Court should be dismissed—a committee of four bishops, four earls, and four barons being appointed to look after national affairs, and to keep an eye on Baliol himself, whose Scottish patriotism was compromised by his position as an English landlord. Thereupon followed the offensive and defensive league with France (1295), to which the seals of Aberdeen and five other Scottish burghs were affixed. The next step was a futile expedition into Cumberland and an attack on Carlisle, led by the Earl of Buchan, but participated in by most of the Scottish nobles, and it was followed by a second raid into Northumberland with equally poor results. Not only are the names of the Bruces absent from the list of those by whom Buchan was accompanied, but Carlisle Castle was held for Edward by Robert Bruce, son of the competitor and father of the king. Baliol, when he found that Bruce would not take part with him against England, declared his estates in Annandale forfeited and conferred them on the Earl of Buchan. Henceforth there was no goodwill between the Bruces and Cumyns, though a dozen years were to elapse before their final conflict in Aberdeenshire.

These raids and the independent spirit manifested in Scotland brought Edward north in the summer of 1296 at the head of a large and well-disciplined army, and after his easy victories at Berwick and Dunbar he had a triumphal march through the country. At Montrose, where King John made his surrender, the Earls of Buchan and Mar paid their homage to the English king; "Kincardine in the Mearns," Glenbervie, and Durris "among the mountains," were the next stages of this royal progress; and Aberdeen, described by

the chronicler of the journey as "the city of Aberdeen, a fair castle and a good town upon the sea," was reached on the 14th of July. During his five days' stay in the city Edward exacted the homage of the burghers and barons with abjuration of the French alliance. He arrived on Saturday, and on Sunday he received the homage of Sir Norman de Leslie, Sir Alexander de Lamberton, Sir Patrick de Eggilvyne (or Ogilvie), Sir John de Garviagh, Sir William de Cluny, Sir Thomas Durward, Gilbert de Mar, and William Cumyn, provost of the church of St Andrews; on the two following days that of Sir Gilbert and Sir Hugh de la Haye, Sir Duncan de Ferenderach, Sir Reginald le Chen, Sir Patrick de Berkeley, Sir John de Mowat, Robert le Falconer, and Robert de Elmsley. On the Tuesday also "the burgesses and community of Aberdeen" put their common seal to the record of their allegiance. The bishop did not present himself till Thursday, on which day Walter Blackwatre, Dean of Aberdeen, and Sir John Fleming also took the oath.

An incident of Edward's visit was the capture by one of his knights of Sir Thomas de Norham and twelve followers, possibly at Lumphanan. The Durward country was at this time in possession of the widow of the murdered Earl of Fife, and by a deed of 1299 the countess conveyed to John de Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, her lands of Coull and Lumphanan, with other lands in Perthshire and in England, in discharge of a debt which she was not able to meet because of the war in Scotland and the violence of Sir Herbert de Norham, who had seized her goods and chattels. From Aberdeen the English king proceeded to Kintore, and thence by day's journeys to Fyvie, Banff, Cullen, the Enzie on the Spey (where there were only tents for shelter), and Elgin, returning south by Rothes, Cabrach, Kildrummy,

Kincardine O'Neil, and the Cairn-a-Mounth. It is probable that his cavalry scoured the country, and that supplies for his army were brought in by foraging parties; and we find that compensation was granted to the Earl of Buchan for ravages committed in his territories by English foragers on their northward march.

The patriotic efforts of Wallace were directed towards the north in 1297, when he made a successful raid upon the English in Angus and Mearns, stormed Dunnottar Castle, and surprised Edward's garrison in Aberdeen, though it succeeded in repelling his attack upon the castle. He may have destroyed some shipping in the harbour; but Henry the Minstrel must be exaggerating when he says that a hundred ships were burnt, for so great a destruction could not have escaped the attention of less imaginative chroniclers. The Earl of Buchan had lately arrived in the north with a safe-conduct from Edward, and whether from inability, with the resources at his disposal, to deal with the English garrison in Aberdeen and the other opposition with which he was threatened, or from the urgency of affairs in the south, Wallace hastily withdrew from this part of the country. We next find Buchan reporting to Edward the outbreak of an insurrection against William Fitzwarine, the English constable of the Castle of Urquhart, on Loch Ness, led by Andrew the son of Sir Andrew de Moray, with other "enemies of the king's peace." Sir Andrew was almost the only prominent man who thoroughly associated himself with the efforts of Wallace. Letters from Edward enjoined Gartney, son of the Earl of Mar, and Henry le Chen, Bishop of Aberdeen, his wardens of the sheriffdom, to hasten to the relief of the castle and restore order. The insurrection spread, and the Earl of Buchan took the field along with Gartney and the bishop. They marched to Inverness, and,

calling in the aid of the Countess of Ross, put down the national resistance beyond the Spey, as they duly reported to the English king in letters still extant.[1]

Shortly after Wallace's departure the proceedings of the commandant of Aberdeen Castle, Henry de Lazom or Lathom, drew from the Earl de Warrenne, who was at the head of Edward's affairs in Scotland, a complaint that he was consumed by self-importance and not attending to his duties. From a letter from Edward to Lazom we gather that armed bands were wandering about the country and harassing the English, and orders were given to repress this brigandage. Apparently the citizens had received Wallace favourably, and while his followers were not of sufficient note to engage the attention of the chroniclers, there is probably truth in Blind Harry's assertion that the common people rallied to his standard.

> "Yett pur men com and prewyt all their micht
> To help Wallace in fens of Scotland's richt,"

says the Minstrel, and a remark which he makes about Cumyn's hostility seems referable to the assistance which Wallace received from the north. Sir Adam Brown, the knight of Midmar, was, however, a supporter of Wallace, and fell in the battle of Falkirk.

Little is known of the history of the counties during the period between Wallace's visit to Aberdeen and the emergence of Bruce as head of the patriotic party. In his last march through Scotland, in 1303, Edward reached Aberdeen on August 24, and passed through the two counties on his way to Lochindorb, the Moray stronghold of John Cumyn, now the principal warden of Scotland. At this time the attitude of the people seems to have been that of sullen

[1] Antiquities, &c., Spalding Club, vol. iv. p. 705.

passiveness. Kildrummy is again mentioned as one of the castles where Edward halted. It was at this time closely connected with the family interest of Bruce, and actually in his possession.

The cause of independence must have seemed desperate indeed when, having dissolved, in 1304, the commission of barons, with John Cumyn of Badenoch at its head, which had still kept up the semblance of a separate government, Edward assumed direct rule, assisted by a council of which the Bishop of Aberdeen, the Earl of Buchan, and Sir Duncan de Ferenderach were members. Close upon this came the betrayal and execution of Wallace, the flight of Bruce from the English Court, his assassination of John Cumyn in the Greyfriars' Church at Dumfries, his coronation at Scone, and the commencement of the long struggle which was to end in his unchallenged possession of the Crown and the triumph of Bannockburn. From the outset the two counties, with the exception of the earldom of Buchan, had their sympathies actively enlisted in Bruce's behalf, and contributed not a little to the success of his efforts. After the wanderings in Athole that followed his defeat at Methven, along with a few of his followers he arrived in Aberdeen secretly, and in a state of destitution. Here he was joined by the queen and her ladies, one of whom was the Countess of Buchan, who, in spite of her husband's feud with Bruce, had attended the coronation at Scone, and as representative of the Macduffs had, according to ancient usage, placed the crown on his head. Bruce and his party lived quietly in Aberdeen for some months, enjoying the hospitality, it is believed, of one of the religious houses, perhaps the monastery of the Trinity Friars on the bank of the Dee. At last a change of scene became necessary. The presence of the king began to be noised abroad, and an English army was on its way to the

north. His brother, Sir Nigel Bruce, was to proceed to the Castle of Kildrummy with the ladies; but the approach of the English, under the Earls of Gloucester and Hereford, compelled them to seek an asylum farther north. The siege of Kildrummy, its gallant defence by Sir Nigel and the Earl of Athole, and its betrayal by an English sympathiser named Osborn, are described in the vivid pages of Barbour, who states that the garrison were hanged and drawn except Sir Nigel Bruce, who was taken at the castle, and Athole, who was afterwards captured as he was attempting to escape by sea. Sir Nigel Bruce was executed at Berwick and Athole in London, where also Sir Herbert de Norham was put to death as a rebel against the English king. The queen, with her party, was delivered over to the English by William, Earl of Ross. She was treated with consideration and courtesy; but the Countess of Buchan, by Edward's express orders, was confined for four years in a cage of lattice-work attached to one of the towers of the Castle of Berwick. Bruce's daughter Marjory was similarly imprisoned at Roxburgh; the Countess of Mar is said to have been sent to a convent, and her son, the young earl, was first sent to Bristol and other places, and ultimately taken into the royal household to receive an English education and imbibe English sentiments.

It was in the autumn of 1307 that Bruce, after his wanderings and adventures, recrossed the Mounth, where he was joined by Sir Alexander Fraser and others of his northern friends. He is believed to have returned for a time to his old quarters in Aberdeen, and those cordial relations between him and the burghers were confirmed, of which there were to be marked tokens on both sides in the course of his reign. The hardships of his lot during these anxious years had told upon his health, and we next hear of him lying ill at Inverurie.

For safety he was carried to Slevach or Sliach, an obscure place in the parish of Drumblade, where his followers formed a camp and intrenched themselves. The Earl of Buchan, with Sir John Mowbray, an English commander, and Sir David of Brechin, Bruce's nephew, had been collecting an army at Slains to oppose him. The Cumyns discovered the camp at Drumblade, and at Christmas-time for three days it was harassed by their archers. Sir Edward Bruce, who commanded for his brother, seeing that his men were badly provisioned, and being unwilling to risk a battle until the king should be able to command in person, retired with his force to Strathbogie, where Bruce had a powerful adherent in David, Earl of Athole.

The king's convalescence was now making progress, and after a time he moved down to Inverurie, where a skirmish took place with a reconnoitring party under Sir David de Brechin from the Cumyn camp, which had been established near the site of the modern village of Old Meldrum. Bruce's outposts were driven in by Sir David de Brechin, and the king at once determined to give battle to the Cumyn who in Baliol's day had usurped the Annandale estates. The force under Buchan and Mowbray, according to Barbour, was 1000 strong, while that of Bruce was only about 700 — no very large array on either side. The conflict took place on ground now forming part of the farm of North Mains of Barra. Bruce promptly attacked, and Barbour tells us that the sight of the king, who was supposed to be still on his sick-bed, made such an impression upon the enemy that they wavered and broke. It is certain that they did not stand Bruce's charge, and in spite of their superior numbers were speedily put to flight. The battle in itself was on quite a minor scale, and Barbour gives no warrant for the exaggerations of which it has been the subject; but its consequences for Aberdeenshire were

great, and it is historically important as marking the turning point in the national cause.

Complete as the victory was, it is not easy to understand why, in its consequences, it should have been so overwhelming, except on the supposition that there had been a large element in the Buchan population indifferently affected towards the Cumyn interest, if not actually betraying it to its foes. Sir Edward Bruce pursued the vanquished band, which appears to have fled to Fyvie, where the royal castle would afford a temporary refuge. With more deliberation the king proceeded to wreak a terrible vengeance on the territory of the great family which roused in him a spirit of relentless fury. He put forth all his energy to compass its destruction, and the means which he now adopted to that end were long remembered as the "harrying of Buchan," a ruthless exercise of fire and sword which even in an age of violence was regarded as unprecedentedly savage. Barbour, who was a contemporary of Bruce's son, and whose parish of Rayne is close by the scene of the battle, so that he must have known many eyewitnesses of the scenes which he describes, tells how the victor

> "Gert his men burn all Buchan
> Fra end till end, and sparit nane,
> And herryit thaim in sic maneir
> That efter that weile fifty year
> Men menyt the herschip of Buchan."

Ruin and desolation overspread the whole district. The house which had been supreme for more than a century and a half, which in the persons of its successive heads and chief collateral members had exercised a predominant sway in national affairs, and which for all but a hundred years had presided over the destinies of the north-east, was irretrievably crushed in this single conflict at Barra. The poets and historians of Scottish independence have loaded the name

of Cumyn with such obloquy as made it for ages a synonym for falsehood and treason. But modern history can discover no just cause for execrating the Cumyn Earls of Buchan beyond their too faithful adherence to their alliance with Edward. We have a considerable number of their charters, which are the record of numerous benefactions to the Church and the poor. It was under their rule that the transition from the Celtic order in population, customs, and language mainly took place. They were liberal and considerate lords to their own people. They specially protected the native race, their lordship over which was first established by peaceful means and not by the sword; and Buchan at the time of the devastation was probably the most Celtic part of Lowland Aberdeenshire.

With the downfall of the Earl of Buchan the whole of the north-east of Scotland turned to Bruce's side. The citizens of Aberdeen, who are believed to have contributed to the victory of Barra, now rose against the English garrison and succeeded in seizing the castle. Tradition says that the watchword of the townsmen on this occasion was "Bon-Accord," the motto subsequently adopted for the arms of the city. Hector Boece states that Bruce's partisans stormed the castle, which had been held for several years by the English; that they put the garrison to death, and that shortly after, in order to leave no place of refuge for the English in Aberdeen, they removed the fittings and demolished the castle itself. It is certain that on July 10, 1308, about seven weeks after the battle of Barra, an order was signed by Edward II. directing Captain William le Betour, as captain of the royal fleet from Hartlepool to Aberdeen, to proceed with his ships to assist in raising the siege of the castle. Kildrummy and the other fortresses in the counties were captured and cleared of their English garrisons; but

the Castle of Banff appears to have remained in the hands of the English, for we find Edward issuing victualling orders for its garrison in 1309. During the rest of King Robert's reign the counties suffered little from the war, though they were constantly menaced with a descent by sea.

With the establishment of Bruce's power came the second great partition of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. The forfeiture of Buchan, Bruce's own domains of Kildrummy and the Garioch, and the Crown lands still classed as thanages and disposable at the will of the king, provided ample means of rewarding the followers who had stood by him throughout his vicissitudes of fortune. New families appear upon the scene — the Hays, who had been Bruce's fastest friends from the time of his coronation; the Frasers, one of whom was his brother-in-law; and the Gordons, who as Border lords were somewhat later in finally declaring themselves. William of Irwyn, son of Irwyn of Bonshaw, a Dumfriesshire neighbour of the Bruces, had cast in his lot with the king in the days of struggle and strife, and received his reward in charters of 1323 and 1324 of the whole of the royal forest of Drum beyond the Park, with the exception of the lands granted by the king to Alexander Burnard. Burnard, the ancestor of the old Aberdeenshire family of Burnett, baronets of Leys, with its numerous branches, had by one of the missing charters of King Robert the western part of the forest, with the lands of Leys and Crathes. The Irvines and Burnetts have now for nearly six hundred years remained in unbroken possession of the adjacent Deeside estates conferred upon them by Robert Bruce for services rendered to his cause. The new lords brought with them a new stream of followers sufficient to obliterate what remained of the decaying Celtic population in all the Lowland districts. The resettlement of Buchan was wholly from non-Celtic sources,

and Strathbogie, which had been mainly Celtic under the native family, was soon to be flooded with vassals and followers of the Gordons from their former seats on the English border.

The rise of the Keiths, another family that played a great part for centuries in the affairs of Aberdeen and Aberdeenshire, likewise dates from this period. Before 1318 Bruce conferred upon Gilbert de la Keith the office of Constable of Scotland, which since the Cumyn forfeiture had been held for a time by the versatile David de Strathbolgin; and in 1320 Parliament awarded to Sir Robert Keith a large portion of the Cumyn heritage in Buchan, where he had for neighbours in one direction the Hays, now lords of Slains, and in another Sir John de Ross, who through his wife, a Cumyn, had also become possessed of part of the earldom lands. The Fraser interest became important on Deeside about the same time, and included besides Durris and Strachan, Aboyne, Glentanar, Tullich, Glenmuick, and Cluny. These possessions passed with an heiress to the Keiths about the middle of the fourteenth century, and by her daughter to the Gordons shortly after the close of that century. The Cheyne lands of Inverugie were inherited by Mariot Cheyne, wife of John de Keith, from her father, the third Sir Reginald Cheyne, who had been made a prisoner at Halidon Hill, and was more a rudest barbarian of a rude age than a polished Norman knight. The Forbeses were established on Donside in the fourteenth century, but no remarkable events are associated with their early career in these parts.

After Bannockburn and the final establishment of King Robert's power the two counties had repose during the remainder of his reign and recovered a portion of their former prosperity. The king visited Aberdeen in September 1319, and three months afterwards he rewarded its loyalty by a

grant of the burgh itself to the burgesses and community, with the forest of Stocket and all their revenues, subject to a feu-duty of £213, 6s. 8d. Scots and reservation of his right of hunting in the forest. The revenues handed over included the lands, mills, fishings, and petty customs of the burgh. This charter of 1319 laid the foundation of the city revenues known as the Common Good. Henceforth no person, "of whatsoever condition or rank he be," was in any way to interfere with or take cognisance of the administration of their revenues by the burgesses and community. Aberdeen was the first burgh to be placed on such a favourable footing. Similar privileges were conferred on Edinburgh ten years and on Dundee forty years later, but the other burghs remained under the old system of being farmed out by tacks.[1] Prior to this time, indeed, the community had a definitely organised civic life with an alderman at its head. The first alderman of Aberdeen whose name has come down to us is Richard Cementarius, who was in office in 1272, but there is no reason to suppose that he was without predecessors. With the alderman were associated four *præpositi*, each with charge of a district of the town as steward of its revenues, hence called bailiff, "bailie," or (in Aberdeen) "baillie," and also with judicial authority, all these being appointed by a common council elected by the community assembled in its guild court. Hitherto the burgh revenues had been accounted for to the king's chamberlain, but they were now to be paid into the city treasury. The beginnings of municipal government are discernible in the earliest glimpses we get of the history of the city, but by this charter of King Robert it received an all-important extension.

In the course of King Robert's reign the town was placed in a condition of defence, with walls and six ports, but a

[1] A. M. Munro, The Common Good of the City of Aberdeen, p. 6.

serious fire in 1326 destroyed a large number of the wooden houses of which it still for the most part consisted. Henry Cheyne, who had been deprived of his see for adherence to the policy of his relative the Earl of Buchan, was restored to the royal favour in 1318. The erection of the picturesque single-arched bridge across the Don at Balgownie is credited to him, but whether the expense was defrayed out of the sequestrated revenues of the see or was a voluntary outlay is not quite apparent. It is more certain that the king caused a portion of the episcopal revenues to be applied to the completion of the choir of the new church which, before the commencement of the war, the bishop had begun to build on the old site associated with the name of St Machar. King Robert showed himself a liberal benefactor to the Church in the counties, as in the case of the Earl of Buchan's Abbey of Deer, to which he gave a charter confirming in free gift all its former possessions, and that of the church of St Mary which he founded at Cullen; but he kept up the practice of granting lands and churches to outside foundations, as in his charter of the lands of Tarves in favour of the Abbot of Arbroath.

The firm and steady rule of Robert I. was hardly ended when the counties began to experience again the miseries of invasion and domestic strife. During the minority of David II. the country was under the regency first of Randolph, Earl of Moray, and then of Donald, Earl of Mar—the English-trained nephew of the late king. Donald was a weak ruler, and the banished lords sought to regain their lost possessions by putting forward the claims of Edward Baliol for the crown. One of these lords, David de Strathbolgin, Earl of Athole, who had married Joan Cumyn, daughter of Bruce's victim at Dumfries, was aiming at the recovery of his Strathbogie lands. Two others, Alexander de Mowbray and Henry

de Beaumont, quarrelled about the lands of the earldom of Buchan, Beaumont claiming to be earl in right of his wife, a daughter of the dispossessed nobleman. A fourth, Sir Richard Talbot, another son-in-law of John Cumyn, was made Lord of Mar by Edward Baliol. Talbot's descendant of the third generation was first Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Earls of Shrewsbury long numbered the lordship of Badenoch among their titles and still carry the Cumyn arms. The defeat of Mar at Dupplin by Edward Baliol in 1332 was followed by the coronation of the victor, by his doing homage to England, and by the march of Edward III. against the Scots in 1333 at the head of a large army to establish his vassal on the throne. After the disastrous reverse at Halidon Hill it seemed for a time as if the independence won by Bruce were about to be lost. Edward overran the country as far as Inverness, but Aberdeen appears to have held out until 1336, when a force under Sir Thomas Roscelyn, who had landed at Stonehaven, marched north to reduce the town. The burghers gave him battle outside the walls, but were driven back with great loss and in disorder, leaving the town an easy conquest to the English, whose leader, however, was slain in the engagement. Aberdeen was sacked and set on fire, burning for six days,—"a doleful sight to the spectators," says Boece. Many of the inhabitants were put to the sword, and in Old Aberdeen the residences of the bishop and canons were given to the flames.

David, Earl of Athole, had already laid siege to the Castle of Kildrummy, which was held for the young king by his aunt, Lady Christian Bruce, who since the death of her first husband, Gartney, Earl of Mar, had been married to Alexander Seton, and was now the wife of Sir Andrew Moray, who had succeeded her son, Earl Donald, in the regency. Moray hastened towards Kildrummy, and Athole, anticipating his

arrival, crossed over to Cromar, taking up a position on the eastern skirts of the hill of Culblean. If Wyntoun the chronicler may be trusted, Athole bore himself like a hero, and when he saw his men yielding to Moray's forces, apostrophising the rock by which he stood, in words modernised in "The Lady of the Lake"—

> "He sayd, 'Be Goddes grace we twa
> The flight on us shall samen ta'.'"

His wife, a daughter of Henry de Beaumont, was blockaded by Moray for several months in the Castle of Lochindorb, until relieved in August 1336 by King Edward. By the death of Earl David, who combined in himself the representation of the houses of Macduff, Strathbogie, Badenoch, and Athole, and who was also lord of estates in England, a pillar of the English cause was broken, and a possible claimant of the Scottish crown removed.

The contest in Buchan between the two ambitious English barons was still in progress. Beaumont was besieged in the Castle of Dundarg by Mowbray, who, failing to oust his rival, and receiving no assistance from Baliol, went over to the Scottish side. After disposing of Athole at Culblean, Moray hastened to Dundarg, and Beaumont soon afterwards capitulated on condition of being allowed to retire to England on his parole that he would never enter Scotland again as an enemy. The successes of Moray in the north, and Sir William Douglas and the Stewart in the south of Scotland, compelled the withdrawal of the English forces from Aberdeenshire, and by the time that David II. returned from France and took the reins of government in his own hands, the country was free of invaders. David resided for some time at Kildrummy and elsewhere in the north-east before visiting the southern portion of his dominions. He held his first Parliament in Aberdeen in February 1342, when he confirmed the grants

and privileges conferred by his predecessors on the city, and re-established the mint, which had been started by William the Lion. David was much in the city during the years preceding his capture at Neville's Cross.

The Mar earldom, with its estates, was forfeited on Earl Thomas's adherence to England, but restored on his submission. Buchan, as we have seen, was partitioned among the supporters of Bruce, and by the death of Athole the Gordons obtained undisturbed possession of Strathbogie. David did much to encourage the rebuilding of Aberdeen and the restoration of its commerce. The establishment of a staple for the Scottish ports at Middelburgh and the exclusion of Flemish merchants were of special advantage to Aberdeen and its growing shipping. In the contribution levied for David's ransom from the English in 1357 Aberdeen is rated third among the royal burghs.

The anarchy which spread throughout Scotland during the reigns of the first two Stewart kings extended to Aberdeenshire. Bishop Adam de Tyninghame, who as Dean of Aberdeen had been one of the ambassadors who negotiated a treaty with the King of France at Vincennes in 1371, embroiled himself with the Court in the controversy regarding the legitimacy of the sons of Robert II. by Elizabeth Mure, and in consequence incurred the enmity of one of them, Alexander Stewart, the notorious "Wolf of Badenoch." The Wolf had been invested with the Cumyn earldom of Buchan and the lordship of Badenoch, while in right of his wife he held the earldom of Ross, and as king's lieutenant in the north he wielded almost unlimited power both in law and lawlessness. In pursuit of his quarrel with the bishop he let loose a host of his vassals, Shaws and MacIntoshes, and broken clans from Strathspey and the regions west of Braemar, upon the diocese, and especially upon the bishop's lands

and forest of Birse. In 1382 the king issued an order to the Wolf to take steps against Ferchard MacYntoshy, the leader of the outlaws; but the order does not seem to have been attended to, and the Wolf's son, Alexander, whom Boece confuses with the Wolf himself, continued to disturb the lands of the bishopric for some years to come. Excommunication had no effect upon him, and he advanced with his Highlanders into Aberdeen to slay the bishop. The result of an interview between the bishop and his enemy was that the Highlanders with their leader withdrew in peace; but they continued to harass the western parts of Aberdeenshire, particularly the Church lands formerly held by the king's thanes.[1] The same anarchical spirit is seen in connection with the feud between the Keiths and Crawford Lindsays. In 1395 Lady Lindsay was chatelaine of the Castle of Fyvie for her husband, Sir James of Crawford, who held the thanage of Fermartyn; and a quarrel arose between her and Robert Keith, her nephew, who thereupon besieged the castle. Lady Lindsay melted all the lead in the castle and held the besiegers at bay by means of it until her husband came from Angus to her relief. Keith went to meet him, and in a fight at Bourtie was defeated with the loss of fifty of his followers.

The close of the fourteenth century saw the feudal system established in Aberdeenshire as fully as it can be said ever to have been. But here it differed widely from the feudalism of England, and even from that which prevailed in the south of Scotland. The tendency of the Anglo-Norman lords in the north was to revert to the clan system which had existed before them, and to substitute the idea of the lord of the soil for that of the chief of kindred blood as the proper and natural leader of the people, with moral claims to

[1] *Supra*, p. 49.

their obedience. In the two great houses of Gordon and Forbes the adoption of the clan and family system was so complete that their foreign origin was speedily lost sight of. This compromise involved abatements in usage from the feudal powers with which the great barons were clothed by royal charter. In lieu of the rights allowed them by Norman feudal laws they accepted the equivalents to which the people had been accustomed. The Celtic payment of "can" or "kain" was an instance of this, and existed in the north down to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Sub-infeudation, on the greater baronies, among families and kindred, resulted in what was practically a clan, whereas the feudal system knows nothing of blood, but only of connections through the land.

In the end of the fourteenth century, too, we find the distinction between Highlandmen and Lowlanders very sharply accentuated. The natives ousted from their lands when Earl David settled the Garioch with strangers, had been pushed back to the hilly regions of West Aberdeenshire and Upper Banffshire, or into Badenoch. They kept their own language and their ancient customs, and became aliens to those who, though of their blood, had accepted the rule and language of the stranger. Hating those who had dispossessed them, and with predatory habits developed by their scanty means of subsistence, they became in the hands of their enterprising leaders formidable as a power of annoyance to their Lowland neighbours. In the War of Independence they escaped notice, taking part, doubtless, with one side or the other; but when the country was restored to peace their depredations became a national question, and were felt nowhere more keenly than in Aberdeenshire.

In 1384 was enacted the first of a long series of penal laws against Highland depredators, or "caterans," who were

described as going about eating up the country, consuming the resources of the sheriffdom, and by force and violence taking property and victual. All men were authorised to bring these caterans before the sheriff, by force if necessary, and should the cateran be killed in the exercise of this force his slayer would not have to answer for the act. But under such leaders as the Wolf of Badenoch and his son Alexander, who became Earl of Mar, the Highlanders of Badenoch were becoming a serious danger to the country and an object of detestation to the inhabitants, whether high or low. The struggles and turmoils of the fourteenth century had weakened the predominance of the Teutonic population in the upland districts. Freedom from an external yoke had indeed been secured, but it was at the expense of civilisation. On the other side of the account, however, has to be placed the disappearance of "natives" or bondmen from the charters before the close of the fourteenth century.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY — ALEXANDER STEWART, EARL OF MAR: HIS CAREER IN ABERDEENSHIRE, FRANCE, AND THE NETHERLANDS—THE BATTLE OF HARLAW—IRVINE OF DRUM AND PROVOST DAVIDSON—MAR AS PROTECTOR OF ABERDEEN—RISE OF THE GORDONS—HUNTLY APPOINTED LIEUTENANT-GENERAL — HIS PART IN THE CIVIL WARS—ABERDEEN FORTIFICATIONS—THE SECOND EARL OF HUNTLY—BATTLE OF SAUCHIEBURN AND DEATH OF JAMES III.—ACTION OF ABERDEENSHIRE LORDS — SIR ANDREW WOOD AND THE FOREST OF STOCKET—HOSPITALITY OF ABERDEEN — ROYAL VISITS — PERKIN WARBECK—MUNICIPAL ORGANISATION — PRIVILEGES OF THE GUILD — "SIMPLE BURGESSES" — CIVIC OLIGARCHY — BURGESSES OF TRADE — CRAFTS *V.* GUILDRY — CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS — THE CANDLEMAS PAGEANT—MARITIME COMMERCE — ENLARGEMENT OF ST NICHOLAS' CHURCH — EPISCOPAL, MUNICIPAL, AND PRIVATE LIBERALITY—IMPORTATION OF MATERIALS — CONDITION OF THE CHURCH IN THE TWO COUNTIES—BISHOPS AS STATESMEN AND COURTIERS — THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS: ARRIVAL OF THE FRANCISCANS—PESTILENCE.

THE great actor on the stage of Aberdeenshire history during the first third of the fifteenth century, and a man of more than provincial or even national celebrity, was Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, illegitimate son of the Wolf of Badenoch. He had begun life as a brigand chief or leader of Highland caterans, and in a wild time his career was distinguished above all others as one of daring and adventure. After the settlement of his quarrel with the bishop he seems to have been on friendly terms with the leading citizens of Aberdeen, or possibly they deemed it expedient to disarm the hostility of a person so formidable for mischief. In the

town's accounts for 1398 there are several charges for the entertainment of Stewart and other "neighbours of the town" at the *taberna* or wine-booth of Robert Davidson, who was then one of the four baillies, ending with a "stirrup-cup" as he was leaving. The earldom of Mar was held at this time by Countess Isabel, wife of Sir Malcolm Drummond, the brother of Queen Annabella. Drummond received the king's licence to build a fortalice at Kindrochit, and during its construction he was captured by a body of caterans, of whom Stewart was believed to be the instigator, and thrown into a dungeon, where he soon died. A year or two afterwards, in 1404, Stewart at the head of his caterans stormed the Castle of Kildrummy, which was occupied by the widowed countess, persuaded or compelled her to marry him, and in anticipation of the questions likely even in that barbarous age to be raised concerning his conduct, assembled the vassals and tenantry of the earldom, and in their presence and that of the Bishop of Ross presented himself at the outer gate, where he was met by the countess, and there, with much ceremony, went through the form of surrendering the keys of the castle into her hand, in order, as he pretended, that she might dispose of them as she pleased. The countess discharged her part in this strange comedy by declaring, as she held the keys in her hand, that she freely chose Stewart for her husband, and gave him the Castle of Kildrummy, the earldom of Mar, the lordship of Garioch and several baronies, the forest of Jedburgh, and all other lands belonging to her in right either of her father or of her mother, to be held by herself, her husband, and their heirs; whom failing, her own lawful heirs. Stewart had been strong in lawlessness, but now he availed himself of the forms of law and had charters executed to give effect to this arrangement so beneficial to himself. To one signed at Kildrummy the

witnesses were the Bishop of Ross, Sir Andrew Leslie, Sir John Forbes, Alexander and Duncan Forbes, Alexander Irvine of Drum, and William de Camera, or Chalmers, of Findon, who had been Provost of Aberdeen. A confirmation charter by King Robert III. was issued without delay, and henceforth Stewart's designation was Earl of Mar and Lord of Garioch. The countess survived only three years.

Such were the means by which a bold adventurer of ability possessed himself of the greatest position in the north. He was appointed Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, and the English fleet having appeared off the coast and attacked the fisheries, he put out to sea with Aberdeen vessels and ravaged the Northumbrian coast. Stewart was a man of the world, and he saw much of the world. There are on record several letters of safe-conduct authorising him to pass through England at the head of bodies of knights and retainers, from which it appears that he attended and took part in the tournaments that were one of the features of the life and fashion of the time. In 1408 he visited Flanders and the Court of France, and made a brilliant display with his large train, which included the young Lord of Sutherland, with Irvines, Keiths, Hays, and other north-country gentlemen. Wyntoun the chronicler, who had his information direct from members of Mar's retinue, and was sprung from a family long connected with the earldom,[1] tells how he "passed into France with a noble company, well arrayed and daintily, knights, squires, and gentlemen, full sixty," and how in royal state he kept open house and table in Paris for twelve weeks, and was "commended of all nations for wit, virtue, and largesse." On his way home he passed Bruges, then the great commercial emporium, and was induced by the Duke of Holland to go to the help of the secular bishop-elect of

[1] Wyntoun, vol. iii. p. 115; Spalding Club Antiquities, vol. iv. p. 176.

Liége, the duke's brother, in reducing the burghers to subjection. With John Menzies for standard-bearer and Alexander Keith and Alexander Irvine as his principal lieutenants, and his command consisting of five banners besides his own, Mar threw himself into the fray and exercised against the Walloon burghers the skill in warfare which he had acquired as a brigand chief among the hills of Aberdeenshire. His arms prevailed, and again he married an heiress with lands. He now called himself Lord of Dufflé in Brabant; but the lands were difficult to get hold of in those unsettled times, and the marriage itself was soon dissolved. From this curious episode the Aberdeenshire knights obtained an experience that was to serve them at Harlaw.

The conflict there to be waged began to loom vaguely in view. In a notable company assembled as the earl's guests at Kildrummy in December 1410 were Gilbert Greenlaw, Bishop of Aberdeen and Chancellor of Scotland; Henry de Lichtoun or Leighton, rector of Kinkell and afterwards bishop; and two provosts of Aberdeen, William Chalmers and Robert Davidson. Relations had of old existed between the earldom and the civic chiefs, and Chalmers, who was a younger son of Chalmers of Balnacraig in Cromar, had become the earl's vassal by acquiring the lands of Easter Ruthven near Tarland, besides which he was clerk of the Justiciary Rolls north of the Forth, and, as we have seen, he was one of the witnesses to the charter or contract of marriage at Kildrummy in 1404. With Chalmers or his son, who was also a Provost of Aberdeen and held national office in connection with the Exchequer, Robert Davidson appears as joint-collector of the king's or great customs at the port. While holding this office and carrying on his *taberna* in the Shiprow, where he had entertained Stewart, Davidson appeared professionally as a pleader in the burgh court and collected debts or revenues for various

clients, among whom had been Sir Malcolm Drummond, James Stewart, brother of Robert III., and the Duke of Rothesay. Fashionable life in Paris, and feats of war in the Low Countries, had been talked of by this Yule-tide party, and coming events, in which the earl and the provost were to be chief actors, may have been sufficiently foreshadowed to be a subject of conference. For only a few months were to elapse before it fell to the lot of Mar, as head of the chivalry of the northern counties, to stem the invasion of Aberdeenshire under Donald, Lord of the Isles. The encroachments which the Crown had for some generations been making on the semi-independence of the island chieftain, who was also Lord of Lochaber on the mainland and held some baronial fiefs in Buchan, had embittered him against the Scottish Court and led him into intrigues with England. Donald was closely connected with Aberdeenshire through his wife, a daughter of Walter Leslie, Earl of Ross. After Leslie's decease, his widow, who was countess in her own right, married the Wolf of Badenoch, and her son, Alexander Leslie, came into the succession, his wife being a daughter of the Regent Albany. On the resignation of their daughter and heiress, who was weakly and deformed, and whom Albany persuaded to take the veil, her maternal uncle, John Stewart, now Earl of Buchan, succeeded to the Ross earldom. It was claimed, however, by Donald in right of his wife, and he proceeded to enforce the claim by arms. Such was the pretext of Donald's inroad; but we must look upon the movement which he headed as one of a long series of outbreaks of north against south, Celt against Saxon, seen as far back as the early days of the Teutonic colonisation and recurring down to 1745.

With the clansmen of the northern Hebrides, Ross, and Lochaber, the Lord of the Isles swept through Moray, the

Enzie, and Strathbogie, and arrived in the Garioch on his way to Aberdeen. The burghers knew full well what was involved in such an invasion of Celtic barbarism, and southern towns recognised at once that the plunder of Aberdeen would greatly increase their own peril. Coming forward as natural leader, the Earl of Mar summoned to his aid the barons and burghers not only of the region immediately threatened, but of the Mearns and Angus, whence there responded to his call Sir Alexander Ogilvy, Sheriff of Angus; Sir Robert Maule of Panmure; Sir James Scrimgeour, Constable of Dundee; Sir Robert Melville of Glenbervie, Sheriff of the Mearns and laird of Kemnay; and Alexander Straiton of Lauriston, with their friends. Mar's own vassals and retainers formed a nucleus, and the knights who had shared his experiences on the Continent must have been invaluable in the hasty work of organisation. A mounted squadron was led by Sir Andrew Leslie of Balquhain, who had already defied his enemies from his fortress high on Bennachie, a man of roughest type, notable as a lawless barbarian even in the days of the Wolf of Badenoch and his son. Of Aberdeenshire barons who hastened to meet the invasion were Sir Alexander Irvine, Sir Alexander Keith, and the heads of the rising families of Gordon, Forbes, and Leith, with several of the lesser men of the Garioch and Buchan. Provost Davidson led forth a body of his fellow-citizens, including, as would seem, forty burgesses, whose names are recorded in the Council Register as having been specially "chosen to go out against the caterans." The place of rendezvous was probably Inverurie, whence on the 24th of July Mar advanced about three miles to Harlaw to meet the Highland horde. In numbers the two forces were very unequally matched. Donald's following is said to have been at least 10,000 strong, while that of Mar hardly exceeded as many

hundreds. Possibly there is some exaggeration in the one case and under-statement in the other, for the chroniclers and ballad-makers are on the Lowland side and may not be strictly impartial historians. In the order of battle the southern auxiliaries and the burgesses were placed in the vanguard. Mar commanded the centre; on the left were Irvine, the Leiths, the Leslies, and the Gordons, and on the right the Keiths and Forbeses. The mail-clad Lowland warriors with their spears ploughed through the Celtic host or withstood its furious rush, but the Highlanders and Islesmen were able by their great superiority in numbers to close round their assailants and attack them with claymore and dirk. The battle lasted till evening, when Donald drew off in the direction from whence he had come. Mar held the field, but with his exhausted and weakened force he was unable to pursue the retiring host. Many of the flower of the chivalry had fallen, among them Sir Alexander Irvine, Provost Davidson, several of the southern knights, and six sons of Sir Andrew Leslie. Irvine and Davidson were deeply lamented, and the oldest of the Harlaw ballads recites their bravery in plaintive stanzas:—

"Good Sir Alexander Irvine
The much renounit Laird of Drum,
Nane in his days were better sene
When they were semblit all and some;
To praise him we should not be dumb,
For valour, wit, and worthiness;
To end his days he then did come
Whose ransom is remediless.
And there the knight of Lauriston
Was slain into his armour sheen,
And good Sir Robert Davidson
Who Provost was of Aberdeen."

It was, indeed, no exaggeration of Sir Walter Scott to speak

of the coronach for "the sair field of Harlaw" having been cried in one day from the Tay to the Buck of the Cabrach. It was at heavy cost, but Aberdeen was saved from an imminent peril, and the counties to the south of it from the prospect of a devastating raid.

Warned by this Highland invasion and their narrow escape, the citizens of Aberdeen set about looking after their defences; but they were soon lulled into a sense of security until new danger arose. The Earl of Mar was regarded as protector of the town. An ordinance of the alderman, baillies, and council of 1412 provides that "nane haff lord na lordship" over the citizens other than the king, the Duke of Albany, and the Earl of Mar. After Mar's death in 1435 Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum was chosen by the citizens as their captain and governor, and this arrangement was followed in the reign of James III. by the citizens entering into a bond of manrent with the Earl of Huntly (1462) for ten years, whereby he undertook to preserve the freedom and property of the citizens, who on their part bound themselves to give their hospitality to the earl and his company when he came to the burgh, and to take such part with him in his defence as they would for the defence of their own persons. The connection thus established was to continue not for ten years only but for two centuries, until the power of the head of the house of Gordon was broken by the wars of the Covenant.

Aberdeen was one of the four burghs which in 1424 made up the ransom of James I., and David Menzies, one of its wealthiest citizens, was sent to England as a hostage for the payment of the money. One of the earliest Acts of his reign commands all barons north of the Mounth to repair or rebuild all ancient castles or fortalices, and to reside in them, or at least expend on their respective estates the rents locally

collected. Absentee landlordism had become, in Aberdeenshire in the fifteenth century, an evil which was thought to call for legislative intervention.

The troubles attendant on the minorities of the second and third Jameses affected these counties only by enabling the barons to secure an increase of power and independence. It was on the death of the Earl of Mar that the primacy among the northern nobility passed to the head of the Gordons. As in the case of so many other families, the Gordon possessions descended to an heiress, Elizabeth Gordon, who in 1408 conveyed her name and possessions to Sir Alexander Seton, second son of Sir William Seton "of that ilk," who thus became the ancestor of the noble house of Huntly. Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon, appears as one of the most active statesmen and soldiers of his day. Soon after his connection with the north began he fought under Mar at Harlaw, and though frequently employed in missions to England, where also he was one of the hostages for James I., he spent much of his time in Aberdeenshire, where he greatly extended the Gordon lands and laid the foundations of a strong clan following. He is said to have rewarded all who took the name of Gordon, and became his vassals, with a gift of meal, whence certain branches of the clan were called the "Bow o' Meal" Gordons, as the "Jock" and "Tam" Gordons distinguished the collateral or illegitimate descendants of the original stock. It is only by such a process of adoption that the large number of Gordon families existing as early as the latter half of the fifteenth century can be accounted for. In 1436, or the following year, Sir Alexander Seton was summoned as a peer of Parliament by the title of Lord of Gordon; and it was probably at the same time that a similar call was addressed to his immediate neighbour, Sir Alexander Forbes of Druminnor, as Lord Forbes. Forbes

had hitherto been the principal vassal of the earldom of Mar. Another peerage creation of this time was the earldom of Rothes, to which George Leslie of the Aberdeenshire family was called.

Alexander Gordon, the second of the Seton-Gordon line, was created Earl of Huntly in 1444-1445. He was of the party of the Regent and the Chancellor in their quarrels with the Douglases, and it was probably through his influence that Aberdeen resolved in 1444 to disregard the inhibition sent out by the queen's mother and the Bishop of St Andrews against payment of revenues to the persons who had the king in keeping—namely, Livingston and Crichton.

During the crisis which followed the murder of the Earl of Douglas in Stirling Castle, when the Earls of Crawford and Ross, with the Douglas Earls of Angus, Moray, and Ormond, were ready for rebellion, Huntly was appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, and proceeded at the head of an armed force to join the king's troops. Near Brechin he encountered the Earl of Crawford, called "the Tiger Earl," in a protracted and sanguinary battle. The Gordons prevailed in the end, but at heavy cost, two of the earl's brothers and several other Aberdeenshire gentlemen having fallen in the fight. A threatened raid across the Spey by Douglas, Earl of Moray, caused Huntly to retrace his steps. He gave battle to Moray at Dunkinty in 1453 and was defeated, but in the following year he succeeded in driving the Earls of Ormond and Moray out of the north.

A new charter which Huntly received in 1457 enumerates the possessions which had already come into the hands of his house, constituting him the greatest power in the north of Scotland. Strathbogie, Aboyne, Glentanar, Glenmuick, the lordship of Badenoch, and the Enzie, with the original Gordon lands in Berwickshire, were all the property of the

first earl. The second earl added the lands of Schivas, in Buchan, and Boyne and Netherdale in Banffshire. The influence of Huntly pervaded the two counties; their destinies were involved in his fortunes; they shared in his ambitions and suffered by his fall.

Aberdeen and Banff were touched only to a slight extent by the troubles through which the country passed in the minority of James III. When James escaped from the power of the Boyds and became his own master, only to fall into greater difficulties with a disaffected and rebellious nobility, Huntly and the northern lords held loyally by the cause of the Crown. The citizens of Aberdeen, notwithstanding their paction with Huntly, do not seem to have been always ready to take the field with him. When he desired them to meet him at the Cabrach in July 1463, to take part in an expedition against another Donald of the Isles, they craved through the provost to be excused on the ground that they had no horses and could obtain none, as the country gentlemen had likewise been summoned to this service, and also because the king had charged them to attend to the defence of the town, being "sickerly informed" that an English fleet was on the coast. In 1476 the king's brother, John, Earl of Mar, was placed in a position of "charge and command" in Aberdeen, and the citizens were enjoined to obey his call in regard to any actions or quarrels he might have within the burgh. No long time had elapsed, however, when Mar became an object of jealousy to the king and ended his days under suspicious circumstances as a captive in Craigmillar Castle. In 1480-1482 the Aberdonians were alarmed at the quarrels between the king and his brothers, and, in view of the danger from the English fleet, steps were taken to have a fosse constructed about the town and the harbour blocked by a boom thrown across its entrance. The citizens were ordered to have

their weapons of war in readiness in their shops and booths, and were forbidden to remove their goods from the town or shirk their part in its defence under the penalty of loss of burgess-ship and forfeiture of property.

The second Earl of Huntly, who succeeded in 1470, married the Princess Annabella, daughter of James I., and added to the prestige and possessions of the house. When in 1486 the revolt of the nobles, with Angus at their head, drove James III. to the last extremity, he came north and was joined by Huntly, the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Erroll, and Lord Forbes, all of whom, with their followers, accompanied him to the south to deal with the rebellion. The unsuccessful conflict at Sauchieburn and the flight and death of the king soon followed. The Aberdeenshire lords were eager for vengeance, and Lord Forbes and others sought to stir up the citizens of Aberdeen by perambulating the streets with the bloody garment of the late king displayed on a spear. The citizens agreed to take part in punishing the traitors and changing the Government; but their opposition to the *de facto* rulers of the country soon abated, and in a short time they had a new grievance, arising out of an attempt by Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, the redoubtable Scottish admiral who had done gallant service against the English, to possess himself of the forest of Stocket and the Castle Hill, of which a gift, hitherto unheard-of, had been made to him in writing by the late king in recompense for his deeds of naval war. The citizens would brook no such invasion of their patrimony, and the provost and four of his colleagues appeared before the Lords of Council in defence of the town's rights, armed with the charter of Robert I. and the Exchequer receipts. These documents were conclusive, and the judgment in favour of the town was confirmed by letters under the great seal.

James IV. paid several visits to Aberdeen in the early part

of his reign, and, as had been the custom on the occasion of previous royal visits, was loyally entertained by the town, and presented with a "propine" or gift—a form of hospitality which sometimes had to be provided by means of money borrowed from wealthy citizens. Less welcome guests were eight English followers of "the Duke of York," or Perkin Warbeck, whom the king quartered upon the town. The impostor had married Lady Catherine Gordon, Huntly's daughter, and when in 1496 the king undertook an expedition into England to prosecute Warbeck's pretended claims to the throne, Aberdeen was seriously alarmed at the prospect of a rupture with Henry VII. It was not asked to join in the expedition; but the possibility of a landing of its "auld enemies of England" led the town council to take measures for offering resistance. All freemen of the burgh were summoned to a "wapinschaw," or military review, on Cunninghar Hill, duly armed with a spear or bow and targe. A fosse and breastwork were to be constructed, with the co-operation of the ecclesiastical authorities, between the Dee and Don; a blockhouse of great strength was to be erected at the Sandness to guard the harbour; the fishing-boats were to be kept afloat for the safety of the men and lands of Torry, on the south side of the Dee; and all "outdwellers" of the burgh were to be brought in as far as possible for the common defence. In return for the co-operation of the ecclesiastical authorities the citizens were to repair with all their strength to the defence of the cathedral, the bishop's palace, and the families and habitations of the canons in Old Aberdeen. In connection with these preparations we hear for the first time of "carts of war, guns, and artillery." Happily the efficacy of these measures and munitions was never put to the test.

Aberdeen in the fifteenth century presents us with the most perfect specimen that we have of the municipal organisa-

tion of a Scottish royal burgh. Unlike Edinburgh, Stirling, or even Perth, it was rarely, and only for a brief interval, that the power of the town council was overshadowed by the presence or intervention of the Crown. Monopoly and exclusive privileges were the basis of the earlier charters, and in the preservation of these rights an oligarchy naturally arose which claimed the power to administer the town's affairs. The privileged class consisted of the burgesses of guild, and to confine its membership to the ruling families or to persons whose wealth or influence could be of service to it was its steady policy. From an early period a qualified freedom had been introduced and persons admitted as "simple burgesses," who shared in the trading privileges of the guild as far as the home trade in goods of Scottish origin was concerned, but were not allowed to take part in the foreign trade, deal in imported goods, or share in the government of the town.[1] The policy of the Bruces and Stewarts favoured oligarchical rule in the royal burghs, and an Act of James III., after reciting the "great trouble and contention" caused at popular elections, prescribed that the outgoing town council should elect its successor and both together appoint the magistrates and officials. In the preceding reign Aberdeen had endeavoured to confine admission to the guild to sons and sons-in-law of the burgesses. During the whole century the magistracy seems to have been in the hands of a small number of families, including those of Menzies, Chalmers, Rutherford, Reid, and Cullen, most of whom were already becoming landholders in the county. Burgesses were admitted by favour at the request of some of the neighbouring nobility, and honorary burgess-ship was conferred as a distinction upon eminent visitors to the city; but the council rolls show how limited was the concession of the franchise from all

[1] Miscellany of New Spalding Club, vol. i. p. xxii.

causes. The aristocratic element in the government of the town became further strengthened by the admission of sons and kinsmen of the country gentry to the guild freedom; but occasional interference of the barons and landholders in municipal affairs followed, which had to be met by repeated enactments of the council against citizens purchasing "lordship" or the countenance and support, in their contentions, of some feudal magnate.

The last class of citizens were the burgesses of trade, whose freedom conveyed merely the right to carry on their handicrafts and to be protected in the retail of their wares in their own booths. From an early time the craftsmen had their own particular guilds for the regulation of their affairs; and by a general Act of 1424 parliamentary recognition was given to these bodies with their deacons or masters, who were to "govern and assay" all work "so that the king's lieges be not defrauded and skaithed" in time to come as they had been in the past. But the rising power of the crafts soon began to be regarded with jealousy by the town councils and with suspicion by the Crown, and in 1427 the appointment of heads or wardens of the respective crafts and general supervision were vested in the councils.

In Aberdeen, as in other Scottish burghs, the craftsmen formed an opposition to the governing body, and throughout the fifteenth century there was a growing friction of classes in the town. About the middle of the century the crafts seem to have taken the law into their own hands and appointed their deacons without reference to the council. The Crown naturally took the part of the oligarchy and pronounced the elective powers of the craftsmen to be "dangerous." A law of 1491 checked their pretensions for a time, but only to stimulate a more determined vindication of craft rights in the following century

Though excluded from participation in the government of the town and from all benefit from its largely increasing property, the artisans had their full share of all the municipal obligations. "As well unfree as free men" were bound to rise at the bidding of the magistrates to keep watch and ward in their turns, to aid in the "stanching" of trespassers and rebels, and to walk armed to and from their work. The peace was frequently broken both by "outdwellers" and the inhabitants themselves. Culprits were tried by an assize of the citizens numbering from five to twenty. Slaughter in a broil was generally a matter for composition. Crimes of violence, offences against the municipal regulations, and interference with the town's property or with guild privileges, seem to have been the most common offences that came before the court. Forestalling and regrating were heinous offences and promptly punished. In most breaches of public order the punishment had an ecclesiastical as well as a civil side.

The great civic show of the year was the procession of the craftsmen to St Nicholas' Kirk, on Candlemas day, and a pageant supplied by the various trades. An abbot and a prior, called the Lords of Bon-Accord, were chosen by the council to superintend and head the pageant, while to each trade was assigned the charge of providing certain characters to figure in the procession. Thus it was ordered in 1442 that the litsters or dyers should provide the emperor, two doctors, and an indefinite number of squires; the smiths and hammermen, the three kings of Cologne; the tailors, Our Lady, St Bride, St Helen, and St Joseph, with squires; the skinners, two bishops and four angels; the weavers and waulkers, Simon and his disciples; the cordwainers, the messenger and Moses; and the fleshers, two or four woodmen; while the brethren of the guild were to provide the knights in harness

with their squires, and the bakers to supply the minstrels. The Lords of Bon-Accord were masters during their term of office of the other holiday revels, such as the festivals of St Nicholas the patron saint of the town, the 1st of May, and Corpus Christi day. The saturnalia carried on under their auspices not infrequently drew upon their rule the reprehension of the town council, but their proceedings did not become licentious until the eve of the Reformation. We find the record of two miracle plays acted during the fifteenth century. One, the "Haliblude," was performed at the Windmill Hill in 1440, and the other on the feast of Corpus Christi, 1479. The former was given at the expense of Richard Kyntore to procure his admittance to the guild, and the latter at the expense of the town. These miracle plays, however, do not seem to have been of common occurrence or a regular part of the proceedings of the Lords of Bon-Accord.

Aberdeen had early embarked in maritime commerce. During the fifteenth century Flanders was the chief emporium of this commerce, which was also to a certain extent carried on in times of peace with English ports, such as Yarmouth. But the English trade had its risks from the frequent and sudden outbreaks of war, and in 1441 the alderman and another citizen were sent to England at the expense of the town to recover certain ships and merchandise which had been captured by the English. Piracy being rife, Aberdeen merchantmen always put to sea in fighting trim, and next year an English vessel was captured, brought into the port, and ordered to be detained pending the judgment of the king and his Council. When, however, a ship of Campvere, which had recently become the staple port for Scottish merchants in place of Bruges, was driven upon the coast in 1456 the town did its best to save the property

from the rapacity of some of the lairds. The intercourse with Flanders was so frequent at this period that the *hospitium* of Lawrence Pomstrat at Flushing, near to which Campvere was situated, was marked out as that to which Aberdeen traders should resort. A letter of James II. to the town implies, indeed, that Pomstrat held a position in relation to Scottish trade analogous to that of a modern consul. In 1478 Aberdeen agreed to share the expense of a commercial mission to the Duke of Burgundy, but the death of Charles the Bold interfered with its despatch. Skins, wool, and salmon were still the principal exports, and the ships brought back wine, fine cloths, spices, and hardwares. A similar trade on a much smaller scale was carried on with some of the French ports. The king's revenue was partly paid in barrels of fish, which were consigned to "factors" at the staple port to be exchanged for the return cargoes.

A public work in which Aberdeen was much interested in the latter half of the fifteenth century was the enlargement of St Nicholas' Church. The two great bells called Lawrence ("Lowrie") and Mary had been placed in the tower in 1351 by Provost Leith as his atonement for slaying Baillie Catanach. Early in the fifteenth century a demand for more altars and masses had set in. Chantries were multiplied, little chapels were dotted all over the building, and the traders and more important families had their separate altars and chaplains.[1] This development raised a question of discipline and the framing of necessary regulations both by the municipal and the ecclesiastical authorities, and to a demand for the extension of the church fabric. In 1449 the town council imposed taxes upon exports to Bruges for "the reparation of the parish kirk," and on a

[1] Cooper, Cartularium Ecclesiæ Sancti Nicholai, vol. ii. p. xxiv.

lower scale upon certain exports to the Firth of Forth or elsewhere. The work seems to have proceeded slowly till 1477, when Bishop Spens gave his second tithes for the building of the choir, a gift which the council and community immediately followed up with a donation of all fees of the alderman, baillies, dean of guild, and "abbot and prior," the surplus revenue of the common good, and all other profits that might accrue, for seven years, and "more if need be," as also £70 a-year from the town's fishings in the Don and Dee until the choir were "fully built and complete." There were also voluntary contributions on a liberal scale by individual citizens. Bishop Blacader, afterwards first Archbishop of Glasgow, on his appointment to the see of Aberdeen, but before his consecration, withdrew the temporary gift of the second tithes, and the citizens in their wrath passed an ordinance that no "neighbour dwelling within the burgh should give him support under penalty of loss of freedom and possessions." It was under the vigorous administration of Blacader's successor, the great Bishop Elphinstone, that the choir of St Nicholas was completed and consecrated.

The church was wholly under the control of the town, and the bishop's relation to it was merely that of its vicar. Though there was so large a clerical staff, divine service does not appear to have always been performed with regularity, and the council resolved that chaplains should regularly maintain matins, high mass, and evensong under penalty of suspension for a year. The chaplains were a troublesome body to keep in order, and their constant appeals to the town council to take action for the recovery of their dues seems to indicate personal unpopularity. St Nicholas' Church was the visible representation of the religion, the patriotism, the wealth, and the taste of the burgesses. The

materials used in building it were procured from distant places at heavy cost. The stone for the walls was not the native granite but freestone imported from Covesea, in Morayshire; lime for use by the masons was specially brought from Dysart, and lead for covering the roof was purchased in England at a cost of four and a-half lasts of salmon.

As to the condition of the Church throughout the two counties at this period there is little definite information on record. The lives of the bishops were written by Hector Boece, and the chartulary of the diocese is extant; but from neither of these sources is there much to be gathered concerning the state of religion or the rural clergy. Aberdeen was on the whole fortunate in its bishops, but many of them were statesmen and held office at Court, necessitating frequent absence from the diocese. Gilbert Greenlaw, who was bishop at the beginning of the century, was chancellor under Robert III., and ambassador to Charles VII. On his return he found the Church in a very low state, attributed by Boece to the oppression and rapacity of the nobles. Henry de Lichtoun, the next bishop, translated from Moray in 1422, was frequently called upon to undertake embassies. He was sent to England, where he was one of the commissioners for obtaining the ransom of James I.; to Rome, and to France, where he was concerned in the negotiation of the unfortunate marriage of the Princess Margaret to the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XI. St Machar's Cathedral had been originally designed by the second Bishop Alexander Kinninmond, but it was Bishop Lichtoun who laid the foundations of the great central steeple, which fell in 1688, and of the two western granite towers. Boece is full of the praises of Bishop Lichtoun, but in the chartulary we find him diverting revenues to the maintenance of the hospitalities of the episcopal palace. The efforts of James I. to raise the standard of morality

among the priests of the diocese were, it is to be hoped, unnecessary; at all events, we find no evidence of the king's policy having been actively seconded by the bishop and chapter. Ingram de Lindsay, the next bishop, is stated by Boece to have been beloved by his people, and to have chosen to incur the royal displeasure rather than promote unworthy men to benefices. His successor, Bishop Thomas Spens, was an active courtier and statesman, whose diocese saw little of him during the twenty years of his episcopate; but he rebuilt the bishop's palace beside the cathedral, and erected a chapel at Glenbucket in consequence of six of the parishioners there having been drowned in crossing the Don while on the long journey to their church of Logie-Mar at Eastertide. Bishop Blacader's reign was brief, and apart from his resumption of the revenues which his predecessors had dedicated to church-building, the chief recorded act of his episcopate is the excommunication of the Highlanders who had raided his lands of Birse. After he had been translated to Glasgow, where he became first archbishop, he prosecuted before the Lords of the Council some burgesses of Aberdeen and other inhabitants of his former diocese for debts due to him before his translation.

The religious orders continued to flourish throughout the fifteenth century, though perhaps with less influence in the north-east than in other parts of Scotland. The Trinity Friars, with their ample endowments coming down from the days of the Celtic dynasty, were the principal order in Aberdeen. The Dominicans, or Black Friars, had the benefit of the special devotion of the Marischal family and the benefactions of James III. The Carmelites were a poorer and less important body, and did not, like the Dominicans and Trinity Friars, hold lands in the county. To these orders were

added in 1471 the Franciscan or Grey Friars, whose monastery occupied the site of Marischal College.

As the century had begun so it ended with a visitation of pestilence, which in 1499 and 1500 made its appearance all over Scotland. A number of the houses where the plague had appeared were closed for fifteen days, and orders given for burning all goods and clothes liable to carry infection. The epidemic was brought to Aberdeen by a ship from Danzig.

CHAPTER V.

STATE OF EDUCATION—MEDIEVAL SCHOOLS OF ABERDEEN—SONG-SCHOOL AND GRAMMAR-SCHOOL—MONASTIC SCHOOLS—ABERDEEN STUDENTS AT OXFORD—JOHN BARBOUR: AT ENGLISH AND FRENCH UNIVERSITIES—THE BEGINNING OF SCOTTISH LITERATURE: 'THE BRUS'—MASTERS OF THE GRAMMAR-SCHOOL—A COMPULSORY EDUCATION ACT—BISHOP ELPHINSTONE — HIS EARLY CAREER — FOUNDATION OF ABERDEEN UNIVERSITY—COMPARISON WITH PRECEDING UNIVERSITIES—POINTS OF RESEMBLANCE TO AND DIFFERENCE FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS—THE ROYAL CHARTERS—THE FIRST PRINCIPAL—BOECE AS SCHOLAR, HISTORIAN, AND BIOGRAPHER—HIS COLLEAGUES—EARLY STUDENTS AND ALUMNI—ENDOWMENTS—ELPHINSTONE'S MUNIFICENCE—ELPHINSTONE AS AUTHOR—THE ABERDEEN BREVIARY AND THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO SCOTLAND—SCOTTISH ART—PLAYS AND PAGEANTS—THE RECEPTION OF QUEEN MARGARET TUDOR—FLODDEN—DEATH OF ELPHINSTONE—BISHOP DUNBAR—HIS COMPLETION OF ELPHINSTONE'S WORKS—THE BRIDGE OF DEE—THE CATHEDRAL AND ITS HERALDIC CEILING—COLLEGE EXTENSION—ALEXANDER GALLOWAY—DUNBAR'S "NEW FOUNDATION"—EARLY PROSPERITY AND CELEBRITY OF THE UNIVERSITY.

We have now arrived at the period notable above all others in the intellectual history of the north, and at the career of the illustrious man who, all things considered, must be reckoned the most permanently influential benefactor these counties ever had. It was in 1483 that William Elphinstone was nominated Bishop of Aberdeen, and on the 10th of February 1494-95 that the papal bull for the erection of his university was issued at Rome. From the terms of the bull it appears that it had been preceded by a petition in the name of James IV.,

no doubt drawn up by Elphinstone, in which a dark picture is given of the prevailing ignorance of this outlying province of the Church and kingdom. The petition had set forth that in the northern parts of Scotland, cut off from the rest of the country by arms of the sea and high mountains, there dwelt a people ignorant of letters and almost barbarous, who by reason of distance were unable to resort to the seats of learning, and that consequently fit men for the work of the Church in those parts were not to be found. This description of the north would have been too sweeping if it had been meant to apply to the urban community, which probably it was not. Schools had existed in the principal towns of Scotland as early at least as the reign of David I., and at a still earlier time the teaching of letters had entered into the organisation of the ancient Celtic Church. When the Teutonic colonisation and the Norman lords brought in the new ecclesiastical system, still more were Church and school of necessity linked together. As the chorister had to be able to read, the Song-School and the Grammar-School had their common origin in the Church. The schools attached to the cathedral in Old Aberdeen are mentioned in the statutes enacted by Bishop Ramsay in 1256, which purport to ratify the ordinances and constitutions of his predecessors. By these statutes the duty is laid on the chancellor of the diocese of providing a fit master to have the direction of the schools of Aberdeen, and to teach the boys in grammar and logic, which included the entire scope of education in its primary and secondary stages. In 1262 we find Thomas de Bennam or Benholm, described as rector of the schools of Aberdeen, witnessing at Inverurie a decree of Bishop Ramsay's successor; and probably it was the same Thomas de Bennam who was chancellor of the diocese in

1276-1277 when Hugh de Bennam was bishop. Education was also imparted by the friars, who seem to have had schools at their monasteries for the training of recruits for their own ranks, though not to the exclusion of the children of their patrons; and that there were learned men among the Aberdeen friars may be inferred from the fact that when Edward I. paid his second visit to the city in 1303, four of the brethren of the Carmelite monastery went to England under his protection and received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at Oxford. Balliol College, which owes its existence to the family which for a short time held the sovereignty of Scotland, was at this period the chief resort of Scottish students.

Among the students at Oxford in the fourteenth century was John Barbour, the contemporary of Chaucer, and father of Scottish literature. In 1357, when Archdeacon of Aberdeen—an office which he was still to hold for thirty-eight years—Barbour received a safe-conduct to pass into England with three scholars for the purpose of studying at Oxford. One of the lights of Oxford at this time was John Wyclif, the earliest documentary record of whom bears the date of 1360, when he occupied the position of Master of Balliol, but who was almost certainly there when Barbour arrived from Aberdeen three years before. In 1364, by which time Wyclif had resigned his academic position, Barbour had a second safe-conduct for himself and four companions to study at Oxford or elsewhere; in 1365 he obtained a passport to travel through England with six companions on horseback on their way to France; and in 1368 another passport authorised him to journey through England to France with two horses and two servants. Apart from his ecclesiastical offices, we find Barbour acting as clerk of audit to the Scottish royal house-

hold, and as one of the auditors of Exchequer. Deeply imbued, as we must believe him to have been, with the learning of his time, he found out, as Langland and Chaucer did, the literary power of the English tongue; and instead of composing his national epic in the medieval Latin of churchmen and scholars, he chose for it the language spoken by all the Lowland population of Scotland as well as by the English beyond the Border. As it is the earliest, so is the "Brus" the most national of all Scottish poems. It is instinct with the spirit of freedom, of heroism informed by chivalry, of romance arising in the struggles, the perils, and the hairbreadth escapes of the king. The poet is ever conscious of the high aim of his work, and the lesson which it reads to the Scottish people. In style it is simple, vivid, and direct. Seldom are lofty strains attempted by the author, and the poem has little wealth of imagery, but the ideas and the deeds of a heroic age are depicted in manful and flowing verse, the language of which differs but little from that of Chaucer. Thus was Aberdeen the cradle of Scottish literature in the fourteenth century. The art of printing had not arrived, but the "Brus" and Barbour's other poems were evidently written for a wider circle than the learned caste of churchmen who read and wrote in Latin.

Barbour is thus a pioneer who stands out prominently in the history of British literature. His successors in Scottish song—Blind Harry, James I., Henryson, William Dunbar, Gawan Douglas, and Sir David Lyndsay—followed after intervals of time; and in the north-east John of Fordun's 'Scotichronicon' was the only other memorable fruit of the cultivation of letters before the inauguration of liberal culture by Bishop Elphinstone. Dempster mentions several Latin authors among the churchmen; but of these authors or their

works nothing is now known, if we except Ingram de Lindsay, one of the bishops of Aberdeen, a man of scholarly tastes who wrote on canon law and the Pauline Epistles.

The historic grammar-school of Aberdeen, which appears to have had an unbroken continuity from the school for "grammar and logic" presided over by Thomas de Bennam in the thirteenth century, is frequently mentioned in the burgh records. On the occurrence of a vacancy in the rectorship in 1418, through the death of Andrew de Syvas, vicar of Bervie, the magistrates, council, and community chose John Homyll, a graduate in arts, as his successor; and on the chancellor granting his letters of collation, in accordance with the old ecclesiastical regulation, the presentee was enabled to enter on his office. In 1479 Thomas Strachan was appointed master at a salary of £5 until he should be provided with a chaplainship in St Nicholas Church.

Education, therefore, was not wholly neglected in these counties; yet we must believe that the statement in the letter to the Pope was generally true of the country north of the Grampians. The troublous two centuries that had elapsed since the death of the third Alexander had been unfavourable to the nurture of scholars; and that neglect of education was all but universal except among churchmen is implied in the passing, in 1496, of the earliest Compulsory Education Act, whereby all barons and freeholders of substance were required to send their eldest sons to school at the age of eight or nine years, and to keep them at the grammar-school "till they be competently founded and have perfect Latin." After having reached this stage of scholarship the youths were to remain three years at the schools of art and law in order that the poor might have the benefit of local administration of justice in minor cases. Though

limited in its scope, and perhaps never enforced, this statute indicates the direction in which the thoughts of the most enlightened Scottish legislators were running, and it cannot escape attention that the man who was taking the lead in matters of educational reform at the time was Bishop Elphinstone, who in the preceding year had obtained the papal sanction for the erection of the northern university. The grammar-school had been attended by the sons of burgesses, and probably by a few boys from the smaller burghs and the country. It has been pointed out by Mr Cosmo Innes as an insufficiently considered effect of the scarcity of books before the invention of printing that it tended to congregate students in masses.[1] The religious houses in the two counties had no great reputation for learning, being indeed behind the foundations in the south in that respect; but there is no reason to doubt that to some extent they carried on educational work. The pursuit of scholarship at the English universities by Scottish students had for a generation or two been greatly discouraged, if not absolutely prevented, by the wars between the two countries. England and Scotland, moreover, were on different sides with respect to the great Schism of the West, and thus another barrier was raised up against the northern students, who in more favourable circumstances would have repaired as of old to Oxford. One result of the schism was to multiply universities in competition with Paris, and the inauguration of higher education at St Andrews in 1411 was to a certain extent a response to a national demand in which the north-east had its part.

William Elphinstone, described by Hector Boece, his biographer, probably with intentional vagueness, as of the old family of Elphinstone, was one of the students of the

[1] Fasti Aberdonenses, p. viii.

University of Glasgow on its foundation in 1450; and having served for some time in the Church he proceeded to the University of Paris. Nine years of his early manhood were spent at Paris and Orleans in pursuit of knowledge and in lecturing on canon law. Boece, himself a student and teacher of the University of Paris some thirty years afterwards, tells us that so great was his reputation for learning and acumen that on more than one occasion his advice was sought by the Parliament of Paris. Soon after his return to Scotland he became Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and then Rector of Glasgow University; he was Chancellor of the diocese of Glasgow and afterwards Official of Lothian, the judicial position next in importance to that of Great Justiciar. He also sat in Parliament, served on its judicial committees, and was engaged from time to time on embassies to foreign Courts. No other Scottish diplomatist of the day had such prestige and experience, or possessed such courtly manners and address. In 1481 he was nominated to the bishopric of Ross, from which he was translated two years afterwards to Aberdeen; but absence on diplomatic service or other causes led to delay in his entrance on his episcopal functions.

Having served his country as lawyer, diplomatist, and statesman, Bishop Elphinstone in the latter part of his life rendered pre-eminent service to his diocese and the north of Scotland as a great churchman and the sagacious founder of liberal education. Though still occasionally employed on diplomatic missions and affairs of State, his energies were for the most part concentrated upon the tasks devolving upon him as bishop. First, Boece tells us, he set himself to reform the clergy, and his next care was to improve the church services as regards both ritual and music, to which end he employed John Malinson, a highly skilled musician,

who seems to have brought about a great change for the better in the musical culture of the Aberdonians. The bishop kept much company, for whose entertainment he imported, through the agency of Andrew Halyburton, Conservator of Scots Privileges at Middelburgh, the choicest produce collected by the merchants of the Netherlands. The whole atmosphere of his palace and surroundings was that of high-toned cultivation and refinement. But while not neglecting social life and relaxation, he left behind him a tradition of personal abstemiousness, weight of character, and devotion to public and private duty. It is also mentioned to his credit that he encouraged and helped with money the friar-preachers who were carrying on a useful work among the poor.

After the erection of the Universities of St Andrews and Glasgow, but before Elphinstone was able to proceed with his scheme for Aberdeen, the intellectual ferment of the age had received the stimulus of the invention of printing, the spread of Greek literature, and the new spirit awakened by the teaching of the Humanists. Elphinstone had a just sense of the virtue of education, and his scheme was in some respects far in advance of that given effect to in any pre-existing British university. It not merely provided an education for churchmen, but was also a response to the public demand for liberal culture. It had a completeness peculiar to itself, with all the four faculties of Arts, Theology, Law, and Medicine duly represented. Nearly half a century elapsed before the English universities had a professorship of medicine, while Glasgow was to be a century and a-half, Edinburgh two centuries, and St Andrews still farther behind. Elphinstone was fully acquainted with Glasgow University, first as student and afterwards as teacher, and he saw that it was practically a failure,—inefficient in respect of instruction, meagrely attended

by students, and lax in discipline; and recognising the errors in its constitution, he was able to avoid them in the constitution and working of his new university. The two great academic models were Bologna and Paris—the former having professional education for its aim, while the latter addressed itself primarily to general mental training. In this latter object, as in matters of form and organisation, Bishop Elphinstone's university followed the Paris model; but it is noteworthy that the first of the endowments of the Aberdeen University is an annual feu-duty from several estates in Banffshire for the support of a professor of medicine. In one important respect he improved on Paris. According to the general usage of universities, the graduates in the several faculties were bound to "read" or teach for a time after taking their degrees. The system had its obvious drawbacks, and, together with the lack of power to deal with disorders, is sufficient to account for the early failure of Glasgow. Eschewing both these errors, Bishop Elphinstone gave salaries, on what was regarded at the time as a satisfactory scale, to the teachers in the several faculties, provided bursaries for students, and, reserving a visitorial power, conferred authority on the chancellor of the university to deal summarily with any disorders reported by the visitors.

The organisation of the University of Paris was followed with regard to the offices of chancellor and rector, and the four "nations" into which the undergraduates were divided, and which acted through their procurators or proctors. The still surviving "bajan," or first-year student, known also at St Andrews, is none other than the French *bejaune* or *bec jaune*, yellowbill or young bird, of four hundred years ago. The "semi," or student of the second year, is *semibajan;* and the principal, the regent (or professor), grammarian (professor of Latin), and sacrist, or college servant, as also

the bursary or "burse" and the "session," are all importations from Paris.

In pursuance of his public-spirited policy, Elphinstone, who in 1489 had obtained a royal charter erecting Old Aberdeen into a city and free burgh in barony, procured a second royal charter in 1497 assigning to academic purposes certain ecclesiastical revenues, conferring upon the staff, students, and members of the new university all the privileges enjoyed by the universities of Paris, St Andrews, and Glasgow, appointing the Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, the Alderman of Aberdeen, and the "bailie" of the bishop, for the city of Old Aberdeen, conservators of these privileges, providing for the "collegiate church" to be founded, and empowering the bishop and his successors to appoint and dismiss the teaching staff. The deed of foundation of the "collegiate church," or college within the university, is dated 17th September 1505, and minutely specifies the respective functions of its thirty-six members, from Principal, Doctors, and Masters of Arts down to the thirteen scholars or poor clerks fit for instruction in speculative knowledge, and the cantor, sacrist, organist, and choir-boys. The permanent teachers were the Master of Theology or Principal, the three Doctors, of Common Law, Canon Law, and Medicine respectively, the Regent or Sub-Principal, and the Grammarian—the first five to have stipends of forty, thirty, and twenty marks, the Grammarian being provided for by the prebend of the Snow Church.[1] All except the Doctor of Medicine were to be ecclesiastics. This academic body was to be assisted by five newly graduated Masters of Arts, who as students of theology for three and a half years were also to act as Regents.

Having obtained the papal sanction for his university, Bishop Elphinstone's first care was to find suitable men for

[1] *Vide* p. 112.

the carrying out of his great design. To fill the responsible office of Principal he had recourse to his old University of Paris, and fixed upon Hector Boece, who was then teaching philosophy in Montaigu College, and who records that he was induced by Elphinstone's "gifts and promises" to return to Scotland for the purpose of inaugurating the work of the new university. It can easily be understood how Boece should regret to part from his eminent colleagues, chief of whom was "Erasmus of Rotterdam," whom he calls "the glory and ornament of our age." But the change was not altogether for the worse, for the testimony of Erasmus discloses the fact that life at Montaigu was extremely hard, even the supplies of food being meagre as well as bad; and on the other hand, the position of first active head of the northern university cannot have been unattractive even to an ambitious man, as we are probably justified in believing Boece to have been. He brought with him his fellow-student William Hay, who became sub-principal and ultimately succeeded to the higher office of head of the teaching body. Both were natives of Angus, and they had been at school together in Dundee as well as fellow-students and fellow-teachers in Paris.

Boece's faults as a historian have overshadowed the reputation which his scholarship deserved. His published works are evidence of the high character of his Latinity, and we have the testimony of Erasmus and other learned contemporaries as to his attainments in philosophy, then a very comprehensive term. Buchanan also speaks of him as distinguished by a knowledge of the liberal arts, and mentions his courtesy and sweetness of temper. He possessed a knowledge of medicine, and had the reputation of being one of the most skilful physicians of his time. His works are the 'Lives of the Bishops of Mortlach and

Aberdeen,' published in Paris in 1522, and his 'History of Scotland,' the first edition of which appeared in 1527.[1] The errors which vitiate the authority of these works spring from the easy credulity with which he received floating legends and popular traditions, but even as a record of these his writings are not without value. As a man of letters of European celebrity his association with the college must have given it a note of distinction at its commencement. Hay is well spoken of by Boece and by Ferrerius, the Piedmontese monk of Kinloss: he was an expert in laws and philosophy, and had eminent success as a teacher.

Boece was appointed Principal in 1495, and it may be inferred that he and Hay, with David Guthrie and James Ogilvie, canons of the cathedral, were at work with students years before the college buildings were ready for their reception. To these teachers was soon added John Vaus, as Humanist, who, with other grammatical works, was author of Latin Rudiments in the vernacular which passed through several editions in the sixteenth century. Boece proudly commemorates the names of the more distinguished students who made their mark in the early days of the university. Among them were Alexander Hay, canon of Aberdeen, and the first alumnus of the university who taught others in the liberal arts, and became its rector; James Ogilvie, afterwards a professor in the university and commendator of Dryburgh Abbey, who was employed on several embassies to the Continent, and was nominated for the bishopric on the death of Elphinstone; Arthur Boece, brother of the Principal, afterwards Professor of Law; Alexander Galloway, rector of

[1] Both are written in Latin, and a scholarly edition of the former, with translation and notes, by Dr James Moir, has lately been published by the New Spalding Club. There is much probability in Dr Moir's suggestion that Boece was led to write the book by his admiration for Bishop Elphinstone, to whose career about half its contents are devoted.

Kinkell, the intimate friend and architectural adviser of Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar; Henry Spittal, a relative of Bishop Elphinstone, who taught a junior class under Boece; John Lyndsay and Alexander Laurence, lawyers, the latter of whom joined the Friar Preachers or Dominicans; John Gryson, Robert Lisle, and Alexander Courtney, also of that order; and John Adam, Professor of Divinity, the first in Aberdeen to reach in that faculty the crowning honour of "master," who became Provincial or Principal of the Dominican Order in Scotland, and by his exertions greatly improved their position and influence. These are the alumni named by the first Principal as having attained distinction when he wrote his Lives of the Bishops, and they are a creditable body of first-fruits of the new seat of learning.

Endowments for the new university to a slight extent were procured from ecclesiastical sources, and private benefactions gradually came in, but the great contributory of funds was the bishop himself. The see was well endowed, and Elphinstone devoted a large part of its revenues to the noble purpose with which his name is inseparably connected. From entries in Halyburton's Ledger it appears that in 1498 there were sent from Holland to Aberdeen to the order of the bishop a barrel of powder for quarrying stones, as also carts and wheelbarrows—imports which betoken the start of building operations. It was also mainly from the revenues under his control that Elphinstone carried out his various constructive works for the benefit of the public, including the completion of the great tower of the cathedral, into which he introduced three massive bells, the rebuilding of the choir on a scale and in a style in keeping with the magnificence of the edifice, the erection of the Snow Church for the accommodation of residents near the south end of Old Aberdeen, and the commencement of what for the time was a very important engin-

eering enterprise, the seven-arched bridge which for nearly four hundred years has spanned the Dee at Ruthrieston.

To Bishop Elphinstone we are indebted for the venerable 'Breviary of Aberdeen'; and even the introduction of the art of printing into Scotland seems to have been due to his initiative. The charter granted by James IV. in 1507 to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar of Edinburgh to set up the first printing-press recites that it was "for imprinting within our realm of the books of our laws, Acts of Parliament, chronicles, mass-books, and portuus [breviary] after the use of our realm, with additions and legends of Scottish saints eked thereto, and all other books that shall be seen necessary." "Books of Salisbury use" are henceforth to be excluded by the king and Council in favour of "mass-books, manuals, matin-books, and portuus-books after our own Scots use," and with "legends of Scots saints now gathered and eked by William, Bishop of Aberdeen, and others." Though not the first book printed in Scotland, for it was preceded by the romance of 'Gologras and Gawain' and some poems by Dunbar and Henryson, the publication of the Breviary was the first great object for which the printing-press was introduced into Scotland, and Elphinstone's hand in the establishment of the art of printing in the country is thus made clear by indisputable evidence. The first volume appeared in 1509 and the second in 1510. Boece speaks of historical collections made by the bishop, but these appear to have been chiefly notes based on Fordun and copies of public documents; and manuscripts by the bishop preserved at his own university, at the Bodleian Library, and at the Royal Library of Paris, are of little intrinsic value.

Aberdeen shared in the revival of Scottish art, which from small beginnings under James I. was steadily extending throughout the country, showing itself for the most part in

ecclesiastical buildings and decoration, but also in wood-carving, painting, and sculpture. The altar ornaments, images, and vestments in St Nicholas' Church seem to have been rich and costly as well as numerous. We have several lists of the cathedral treasury during this period which mark the increase of ecclesiastical art; and a mitre presented by Bishop Elphinstone, of which a detailed description is given, must have been a marvel of the work of jeweller and embroiderer. Painted banners are mentioned in the inventories, at least one portrait-painter was working in the town, and the portrait of Bishop Elphinstone in King's College belongs to this period. Of the proficiency in illumination and colouring of the Aberdeen artists in the fifteenth century we have sufficient evidence in the manuscripts that have come down to us. The skill in wood-carving, which was put to the test in the choir stalls of St Nicholas' and the high altar of the cathedral, considered a piece of the finest wood-work in Europe, and still seen on the stalls of King's College Chapel, seems to have been unrivalled in any of the towns of Scotland.

The latter half of Elphinstone's episcopate of thirty-one years, till almost its close, was cast in a time of public tranquillity. His influence as a statesman at home and his action as a diplomatist abroad had been exerted on the side of peace and goodwill; and circumstances co-operated to impart to this period an exceptional brightness, as of a gleam of sunshine amid ages of storm and gloom. The sixteenth century opened with all the signs of prosperity in the towns of the north-east, and with much public rejoicing over the marriage of the popular young king with the Princess Margaret of England. James IV. had already been a frequent visitor to the city, and on each occasion received a loyal and hospitable welcome. Aberdeen contributed its quota to the costs of the

marriage, which was attended by the alderman and "the best and worthiest of the town," accompanied by the common minstrels, who were provided with silver badges engraved with the town's arms. The spirit of the time is reflected in the festivities attending the visit of the queen to the city in 1511, of which visit we have a brilliant poetical description from the pen of William Dunbar, who seems to have been in the royal suite. Hardly less worthy of attention, however, is the prose of the burgh records. The citizens were summoned to meet the municipal authorities, and it was resolved with one voice that Aberdeen should "receive the queen as honourably as any burgh of Scotland except Edinburgh alone, and to incur all necessary expenses for the honour of the town." Stern orders were given for "cleaning of the town of all middens," clearing away pigsties, and preventing swine from running at large in the streets under penalty of banishment of their owners from the town and slaughter and confiscation of the animals. The outside stone-stairs of the houses were to be covered with arras-work, and decorations of foliage and flowers provided. The queen, indeed, seems to have been received and entertained with royal munificence, if we may judge by Dunbar's description of what took place. After apostrophising the city as

> "Blithe Aberdeen, thou beryl of all tounis,
> The lamp of beauty, bounty, and blitheness,"

the poet commemorates the splendour of the procession which met the queen at the entrance to the city and the pageants exhibited along the route. These included the Salutation of the Virgin, the Three Kings of Cologne, the Angel with the Flaming Sword driving Adam and Eve from Paradise, Robert the Bruce and the Stewart Kings, and four-and-twenty maidens all clad in green, of marvellous beauty, with flowing hair, playing on timbrels, singing, and saluting the queen.

"At her coming great was the mirth and joy,
For at their Cross abundantly ran wine;
Unto her lodging the town did her convoy;
Her for to treat they set their whole ingyne;
A rich present they did to her propine
A costly cup, that large thing would contain,
Covered and full of coined gold right fine;
Be blithe and blissful, burgh of Aberdeen."

As a return for the loyal courtesy of the city authorities, the king conferred upon them new powers and privileges. Two months after the queen's visit the provost received letters under the great seal confirming and extending their power to escheat goods exported from the sheriffdom without paying the great custom, while in the following January came the confirmation of a decree arbitral of the Lords of Council conferring on the provost and baillies jurisdiction as to offences committed by burgesses and freemen. But the shadow of coming trouble was already apparent. Within a few months the local authorities were devising new measures of defence against the English, purchasing gunpowder, artillery, spears, and other warlike equipments, ordering trenches to be dug at various points, and establishing a watch in which every burgess and freeman was to take his turn. Besides providing for its own defence, Aberdeen furnished a contingent of twenty spearmen and six horsemen for the royal army. Huntly had mustered the Gordons and all the strength that his lieutenancy of the north could bring into the field. Many of the barons of the two counties joined his standard and participated in the gallant but bootless onslaught which he led at Flodden. In that disastrous battle there fell of Aberdeenshire men the Earl of Erroll, High Constable of Scotland, Lord Forbes, and the two sons of the Earl Marischal, Sir William Douglas of Kemnay, Sir James Abercrombie of Pitmedden, Johnston of Caskieben, George

Ogilvie, younger of Auchleven, Abercrombie of Birkenbog, young Glaster of Glack, and several of the Gordons.

The aged bishop did not long survive. His counsel had been against the war, and he was stricken to the heart by the news of the battle and of the king's death. He died on October 25, 1514, at Edinburgh, whither he had gone with much toil and difficulty in a vain endeavour to compose the differences between the English and French parties into which the nobles had divided themselves on the queen's hasty marriage with Angus. Bishop Elphinstone was buried, as was most fit, before the high altar in his college. He had been in his day the great light of the north. During his administration of the see the Roman Catholic Church reached the summit of its influence in Aberdeenshire; and the higher learning which he inaugurated was to convert these counties into a prolific nursery of men of eminence in the service of their country and time.

For the vacant see James Ogilvie, first Civilist of King's College, who was engaged at the time on a mission to the King of France, was nominated by the Regent Albany, and Robert Forman, Dean of Glasgow, and brother of the Archbishop of St Andrews, was designated from Rome; but while the canons were deliberating over the matter the Earl of Huntly entered their meeting and demanded that his kinsman, Alexander Gordon, Chanter of Moray and third son of James Gordon, Laird of Haddo, should be appointed, and, as Boece records, the canons, yielding to the evil times lest they should have to submit to harsher treatment, unanimously conceded the earl's demands. After the uneventful three years' episcopate of Bishop Gordon succeeded a prelate in zeal and public service as in high character the worthy successor of Elphinstone. Gavin Dunbar, of Westfield, had been Dean of Moray and was now Archdeacon of St Andrews, holding

also the public office of Clerk of Register. His appointment to the bishopric of Aberdeen dates from 1518, and the first object to which he addressed himself was the completion of Elphinstone's unfinished works. Chief of these was the Bridge of Dee. The architect of the bridge was Alexander Galloway, and the contractor Thomas Franche, the king's master mason and son of a burgess of Linlithgow. For the maintenance of the bridge Bishop Dunbar gave the lands of Ardlair in the parish of Kennethmont, and in 1527 "the haill toune, all in ane voice, thankit greatly their lord and bishop of Aberdeen" for building the bridge and "for his great offer and promises for upholding the same."[1] To Dunbar's initiative, and largely to his munificence, were also due the south quarter of the college and the professors' houses, the south aisle of the cathedral, and the two freestone spires surmounting Bishop Lichtoun's massive granite towers, the heraldic ceiling in panelled oak, which likewise is still so notable a feature of the edifice, the Bede House or hospital in Old Aberdeen for twelve poor men, and the Greyfriars' Church of New Aberdeen. His additions to the ornaments of the cathedral came, no doubt, of that love of art which is reflected in the decorated ceiling with its four dozen shields and coats-of-arms and in his patronage of architecture.

Alexander Galloway, so closely connected with the bishop in all his constructive undertakings, was Official of the diocese, and on different occasions Rector of the university. For many years Galloway was the chief designer of architectural works in the north, and the authorities of Aberdeen consulted him as to the fortification of the town. It was a fruitful time in the architecture of Aberdeen, and Galloway left abundant proofs and products of his taste and ingenuity at the

[1] Aberdeen Council Register, Spalding Club, vol. i. p. 116.

cathedral, the university, his own beautiful church of Kinkell, and the church of the Grey Friars in Aberdeen. Manifold was the service he rendered to the Church, as Bishop William Stewart, the successor of Dunbar, testifies, both in Scotland and Flanders. Being a man of some wealth, he was in that respect also a benefactor; and he is associated with the completion of the chartulary. Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar had no worthier or more competent assistant in the execution of the undertakings by which they elevated the standard of taste in the community and worthily provided for the seat of learning and culture which they established.

The last act of importance in the career of Bishop Dunbar was his confirmation, in 1531, of the "new foundation" of the college, carrying out intentions left unexecuted by Bishop Elphinstone. By this instrument the resident body was increased from thirty-six to forty-two—by the addition of another student of divinity, three law students, and two choir-boys. One of the numerous regulations laid down was that the Rector, with "four worthy masters"—this being the origin of the Rector's Assessors—was to "visit" the college once a-year and correct all abuses. Another regulation restricted the bursars in Arts to speaking in Latin or French. The mother-tongue seems to have been considered unworthy of the dignity of a seat of learning, and the rules of the Aberdeen grammar-school in 1553 forbade the boys to talk to each other in the vernacular, but gave them the choice of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, or Gaelic. In the early days of the university, if we may judge by the statements of Boece, and the number of eminent alumni, the attendance of students cannot have been small; and Ferrerius, who accompanied Abbot Robert Reid from Paris, and spent five years of academic and literary activity at Kinloss, speaks in glowing terms of the galaxy of learned men gathered together in

Aberdeen, mentioning the two Boeces, Galloway, William Hay, Robert Gray, and John Vaus, and affirming that Aberdeen was then the most celebrated of the Scottish universities. This was on the eve of a picturesque event, if not essentially one of the first importance, in the history of the university—namely, the visit and sojourn, apparently within the college precincts, of James V. and the queen. Bishop Leslie, a contemporary, and probably an eyewitness, records how their majesties were received with diverse triumphs and plays by the town and the university and schools, the bishop being their host, and how there was exercise and disputation in all kinds of science, with orations in Greek, Latin, and other languages. The mention of Greek is interesting. Its introduction into Scotland is supposed to have taken place in 1534, when Erskine of Dun brought a master from France who first taught it in Montrose. Within a few years of this date it had its place in the curricula of the university and grammar-school of Aberdeen. A period of lassitude and inefficiency in the university set in, however, and Galloway, who was rector again in 1549, reports a sad falling-off as compared with the palmy days of Bishops Elphinstone and Dunbar. There were now no lay teachers, few students who were not foundationers, and none apparently but such as were preparing either for the Church or the practice of its courts, while the teachers were negligent in the discharge of their duties. It was a deplorable change from the enthusiasm and glory that had pervaded the college halls in days that Galloway could remember. The university had done a great work during the half-century of its existence, but a temporary cloud hung over it. A crisis in its affairs, as in those of the Church, was rapidly approaching.

CHAPTER VI.

PREMONITIONS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVOLUTION — RELAXATION OF SOCIAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL BONDS — GORDON RAID ON KINLOSS ABBEY—NIGHT ATTACK ON ABERDEEN BY GARIOCH LAIRDS—BREACH BETWEEN THE CITIZENS AND THE FORBESES — THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE MASTER OF FORBES — ROBBERY OF THE CATHEDRAL TREASURE—FIRST APPEARANCE OF LUTHERANISM AND THE MEASURES AGAINST IT — REPRESSION OF IRREVERENCE AND ENFORCEMENT OF CHURCH DUES BY THE MAGISTRATES OF ABERDEEN — EPISCOPATE OF WILLIAM GORDON—INCREASING AGGRANDISEMENT OF THE GORDONS—BONDS OF MANRENT — THE FOURTH EARL OF HUNTLY: LIEUTENANT OF THE NORTH AND PROVOST OF ABERDEEN—THE BATTLE OF PINKIE — THE BURDEN OF TAXATION — HUNTLY'S UNSUCCESSFUL EXPEDITION TO THE HIGHLANDS: DEPRIVED OF OFFICE AND HONOURS: MAGNIFICENCE OF HIS ESTABLISHMENT — EARL MARISCHAL AND THE REFORMATION — THE FORBESES — BURNING OF THE CHURCH OF ECHT —MORALS OF THE CLERGY—MEMORIAL OF THE DEAN AND CHAPTER.

In public and national affairs the bright interlude of Bishop Elphinstone's episcopate was followed by a long period of strife and tumult and of the relaxation of old bonds. The central fact in the general history of the country during this period is the ecclesiastical revolution. Its premonitions begin to be apparent in Aberdeenshire soon after Flodden. The breach between England and Rome was not without its influence in the north, for if it tended to accentuate the old hostility between the two countries, the dissolution of the English religious houses familiarised the Scottish nobility with the idea of the secular advantages associated with the

change in religion. The Church no longer commanded the same reverence as of old, and the disorganised state of society is reflected in the lawlessness and turbulence of the country gentry, of which there are many illustrations. The first incident that arrests attention is a nocturnal raid upon the Abbey of Kinloss in 1515, headed by no less a person than Lord Gordon, son of the Earl of Huntly and son-in-law of James IV. There had been differences between Huntly and the abbot concerning the Strathisla possessions of the monastery, and these may have influenced Gordon, but he is said to have been "impelled by certain rascals." For plundering the church he was excommunicated, but after retiring to France for a year or two he came back in a penitential frame of mind and received absolution, first at St Andrews, and then at the scene of his sacrilegious deed, where his death shortly afterwards took place. An incident not less characteristic of the age, though unconnected with ecclesiastical affairs, was a night attack upon the city in 1525 by four Garioch lairds—Alexander Seton of Meldrum, John Leslie of Wardes, William Leslie of Balquhain, and Alexander Leslie "of that ilk," with their followers to the number of about eighty spearmen. The citizens rushed to arms, and after a protracted conflict defeated the invaders, but not before about eighty of the inhabitants had been killed or wounded. To guard against the recurrence of such an attack, the ports of the town were ordered to be repaired, the "vennels," "backdykes," and the like, built up, a night watch established, and sentinels posted by day in the steeples; two or three gunners were to be engaged for the artillery, young and able-bodied men to be supplied with culverins, cross-bows, and hand-bows, and to practise shooting at weekly or fortnightly "wapenschaws"; and finally,

a complaint against the late raiders was to be made to the king and council, while a prohibition against receiving or harbouring strangers was imposed upon the citizens. The efficacy of these elaborate preparations was never put to the test, for no repetition of the inroad was attempted.

This strange affair, according to the Council Register, was instigated by John Collison, elder, who had been provost four years before. Collison, who is described by some interpolator on the margin of the "Buk of Statutis," one of the documents of the town's history, as "an ambitious proud man," was connected by descent or marriage with several of the county families, including those concerned in the raid. Contention had arisen over the old question of the right of non-resident burgesses to take part in the municipal elections. A resolution passed four months before this incident occurred is to the effect that the citizens were resolved to uphold their right of free election as it had been handed down to them from time immemorial, notwithstanding that it had been divers and many times "invaded by both lords and gentlemen in the country," and to this end no person who did not "scot, lot, and ward" was to have any vote or be permitted to enter the tolbooth during an election. When this resolution came up for confirmation in September it was opposed by Collison and his party, and the raid which took place immediately after the annual election of provost, magistrates, and council may have been intended to effect a municipal *coup d'état*.

The increasing strength of the Forbes connection and the extension of its possessions were developing the rivalry and hostility that were so long to mark its relations with the Gordons. Quarrels were no new thing between the Forbeses and the barons of Garioch and Formartine, among whom they were rapidly establishing themselves. Of these barons

the Leslies and Setons were generally in alliance with the Earls of Huntly, and during the minority of the fourth earl, who succeeded in 1524 as a boy in his tenth year, Lord Forbes seems to have taken the opportunity of pressing heavily upon the adherents of the rival house. Balquhain, the principal castle of the Leslies, was attacked and burned by the Forbeses in 1526. The interference of Angus and other nobles stopped for a time the prosecution of the feud, but the violent proceedings of Lord Forbes's heir, the Master of Forbes, soon led to fresh tumults. Seton, who had headed the Aberdeen raid, was assassinated in 1526 by a party of the Forbeses, of whom the Master appears to have been one, at the house of Gilbert Menzies, the provost of the city. The actual assassin, Alexander Forbes, called "Spranger," while afterwards engaged in plundering some of the bishop's tenants, was slain by young Leslie of Balquhain, who with his associates succeeded in obtaining a remission under the great seal. Collisions between the Forbeses and the Aberdeen authorities had already occurred. Lord Forbes had been receiving from the magistrates a tun of wine yearly as a sort of blackmail for "protecting" or sparing the river fishings during the close season, but the citizens found that instead of protecting the fishings the Forbeses were the principal depredators and resolved to withhold the wine. A strong body of the Forbeses, headed by the lairds of Pitsligo and Brux, and instigated by Lord Forbes, broke into the town on a summer Sunday in 1530, and after some not very deadly warfare with the citizens were driven for refuge to the "place" of the Grey Friars, where after a siege of twenty-four hours they had to surrender. The citizens having seized the horses of the raiders, the Forbeses appealed to a court of law, but with the result that they were bound over under a heavy

penalty that the town should be "skaithless at their hands in time coming."

The Master of Forbes was soon in more serious trouble. Along with his father and John Strachan, younger of Lynturk, who had been implicated with him in the murder of Seton, the Master was charged with carrying on a treasonable conspiracy with England and plotting to shoot the king during one of his visits to Aberdeen. Another accusation against him was that he had conspired for the destruction of the Scottish army at Jedburgh — which only meant that he was one of many who would not accompany Albany in his invasion of England. Lord Forbes was acquitted, but Strachan had his lands forfeited, and was forbidden to cross the Dee or approach the king; and the Master of Forbes, who had the misfortune to be married to a daughter of the now exiled Earl of Angus, was sentenced to be beheaded and quartered. Another of Angus's daughters, Lady Glamis, was condemned about the same time on a charge of conspiring to destroy the king by poison. There has always been a mystery about these cases, both of which seem to have resulted in a miscarriage of justice. The Earl of Huntly appeared as prosecutor of Forbes, and the prosecution arose out of a denunciation by Strachan, who had quarrelled with him, and accused him of having conspired with his Douglas connections against the life of the king. On the scaffold Forbes protested his innocence of this charge, while admitting that he had earned his doom by the part he had taken in the death of Seton. The king seems to have had misgivings about the whole matter, and in a short time he took one of Forbes's brothers into a high position at Court. Strachan, who was one of the most unruly characters of a turbulent age, obtained remission from the Privy Council not only for

his participation in the death of Seton but for being concerned in that of John King, son of the laird of Bourtie, and in robbery and slaughter at the siege of Kildrummy. For many years, however, he continued to pursue an irregular course of life.[1]

One of the intermittent manifestations of the Forbes and Gordon feud is seen in a charge brought against Lord Forbes, the Master of Forbes, William Forbes of Corsindae, and others, in 1533, of being concerned in a foray and the destruction by fire at night of the sheepfolds in the Earl of Huntly's forest of Corrennie on his Cluny estate. Three years afterwards, however, we find Huntly associating himself with Lord Forbes and the lairds of Corsindae and Brux as cautioner for the good conduct of the Master, Strachan, and three others, under the remission by the king of proceedings against them in connection with the Seton fracas.[2] But the relations between the houses had begun to show that they would bear but little additional tension, and we shall see how greatly these relations were involved in the struggles and commotions of the next hundred years.

It was probably during the Forbes raid on Aberdeen that a priest of the name of Martin or Marcus Coutts was killed, on account of whose death John and Alexander Forbes with their accomplices, George Ogilvie and George Collie, were put under the greater excommunication by Bishop Dunbar. Whether the bishop had refused to release them does not appear, but the two Forbeses obtained absolution from Pope Clement VII. in 1531. In 1544 the Forbeses were implicated in a graver act of sacrilege, and one which may be regarded as an indication of motives that in a few years were to exert a powerful influence in enlisting the nobility and

[1] Pitcairn, Criminal Trials, vol. i. p. 183 *et seq.*
[2] Ibid., p. 163. Cf. p. 175.

gentry on the side of the Reformation. England had broken with Rome ten years before, and the English monasteries having been suppressed and their revenues confiscated, the idea of the secularisation of ecclesiastical property was acting on the minds of men. Bishop Stewart, the successor of Dunbar, being apprehensive of an English invasion, was removing the jewels and ornaments of the Cathedral from Old Aberdeen to a place of greater safety, when James Forbes of Corsindae, who had been lying in wait at the head of a band of his "companions and satellites," fell upon the party and carried off the treasure. The bishop and chapter were compelled to redeem their plate from the robbers in an imperfect and mutilated condition, at a cost of 600 merks. Either from difficulty in raising the money, or for some other reason, this ransom was commuted into a grant to Forbes of four ploughgates of Church land at Montgarrie in the Vale of Alford. In such ways had it now become necessary for the Church to compromise with its despoilers.

It was in 1525 that the Scottish Parliament condemned the "damnable opinions of heresy spread in divers countries by the heretic Luther and his disciples," and forbade the circulation of their books; and soon afterwards a royal letter was addressed to the sheriffs in the diocese of Aberdeen, informing them on the authority of Bishop Dunbar that sundry strangers and others within the diocese had "books of that heretic Luther," and favoured his "errors and false opinions," contrary to the Act of Parliament, and directing inquisition to be made regarding these persons and their goods to be confiscated. The close commercial connection of Aberdeen with Holland and Flanders had doubtless led at an early date to the citizens being informed of Luther's revolt against the Pope, and copies of the denounced books would be surreptitiously brought into the port. The circula-

tion of Tyndale's English New Testament, printed abroad, began about this time, and it may have been classed with the Lutheran books condemned on the initiative of the Bishop of Aberdeen. For it was not till 1543, five years after the English Bible had been legalised in England, that the Scottish people were allowed by their Parliament to possess or to read the Bible in their own tongue. Nothing came of the inquisition by the sheriffs, if it ever took place, and we hear no more of heresy until the progress of the reformed doctrines in the neighbouring counties had begun to alarm both the higher clergy and the secular authorities.

So little had the Roman Church in Aberdeenshire been able to realise the danger that was imminent, that church building and decoration may almost be said to have been going on concurrently with the demolition and spoliation of the religious edifices in the south. The play of Sir David Lyndsay's piquant humour, and the shafts of his satire directed against the ignorance, idleness, and licentious lives of the clergy, cannot have been wholly unknown in the north-east; but no definite trace of the influence of this potent stimulus of the anti-clerical sentiment is to be found in the Aberdeenshire records, and the magistrates in Aberdeen continued to repress indignities offered to the Church or clergy and to enforce the payment of their dues. That repressive measures were resorted to may indicate the prevalence of a spirit of revolt; but while the local executive authority was clearly on the side of the Church, nothing ever occurred in the northern city corresponding with the burning of Patrick Hamilton at St Andrews in 1527 and George Wishart in 1546, or the execution of five persons in Edinburgh for heresy in 1539.

After the short episcopate of Dunbar's successor, Bishop William Stewart, the influence of the Earl of Huntly was again put forth in the election of bishop, and it secured

the see for his uncle, William Gordon, parson of Clatt, and a prebendary of the cathedral. With the commencement of Gordon's episcopate begins the ruin of the Roman Church. A man in every respect unworthy of his distinguished predecessors, he offended by his conduct the moral sense of an age that was not remarkable for its purity, and weakened the position of the Church at a time when it was on its trial. Like Cardinal Beaton, of whom he was the friend and follower, he was more of a lay baron than a spiritual lord, and he seems to have had no regard for the responsibilities of his episcopal position or respect for the dignity of his office. His policy was to increase the number of the Church vassals by granting feu-charters and subdividing the episcopal domains among feuars and holders of long leases, who were bound to maintain the Catholic religion and the see of Aberdeen. In many of his charters and grants we find provision made for their being void in case of the holders falling into heresy. As the Reforming party gained ground in the south, the bishop's grants and leases increased to such an extent as to amount to spoliation of the see, and to show that he was desirous to anticipate the secularisation of the Church lands.

The chapter sought to meet the rising tide of the Reformation by more becoming measures, and made some small provision to counteract the new doctrines by popular preaching. The bishop was a frequent absentee. He was in France from 1550 to 1553, and during the next few years he seems to have chiefly resided in Edinburgh. Huntly had been appointed hereditary bailie of the see soon after Bishop Gordon's succession, and the bishop probably depended more upon his nephew's support than upon the measures which the dean and chapter were devising to prop up the tottering Church.

The power of the house of Gordon, which had been steadily increasing all through the fifteenth century, reached its highest point in the era immediately preceding the Reformation. To the extensive patrimonial possessions of the first two earls, already enumerated,[1] the third earl, who died in 1524, added Strathaven, or Strathdoun, in Banffshire, and the Brae of Lochaber in Inverness. His grandson, the fourth earl, had a charter from James V. of the lordship of Braemar, Strathdee, and Cromar, except Migvie. From central Aberdeenshire to the western sea-lochs he was lord of the land, and to his hereditary earldom of Huntly he added for a time the other historic earldoms of Mar and Moray. He was Lieutenant of the North, or Viceroy of trans-Grampian Scotland; he was Chancellor of the realm, and the most influential as well as the wealthiest Scottish nobleman of his day. There was no force that could cope with him, apart from the royal authority, unless it were the growing power of Argyll in the West Highlands. By the marriage of Sir Adam Gordon of Aboyne, son of the second earl, to the heiress of Sutherland, that ancient earldom and its possessions fell to the Gordons in 1515, and materially added to the influence of the head of the house. The Gordon Earls of Sutherland retained their lordship of Aboyne and other Aberdeenshire possessions, and throughout the century dutifully supported their chief in all his undertakings.

The Gordon influence, and even the history of Aberdeenshire, in the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth century, turn to no small extent upon the order of things represented by the bonds of manrent, friendship, and alliance that were common all over Scotland, but nowhere so widely efficacious as in the north-east. These engagements were disliked by the central Government as weakening its hands, and the law

[1] *Supra*, p. 87.

that was passed against the transference of fealty of the king's tenants in burghs to neighbouring lords had much support in the burghs themselves, as we have seen in the case of Aberdeen, on the grounds that such transference violated the right of local self-government, and that it threatened external interference and withdrew citizens from local service and defence; but, as we have seen, these objections were waived at times by Aberdeen in favour of the Earls of Huntly. Among the landholders of Aberdeenshire bonds of manrent and maintenance may be said to have been universal. There is still preserved in the muniment room of Gordon Castle an immense collection of these and kindred documents ranging from 1444 to 1670, about which latter date they were finally prohibited by law. They are an evidence, and in some degree an explanation, of the all but sovereign sway so long exercised by the heads of the family of Gordon, and of the practical independence which successive Earls of Huntly were able to assert for themselves. The less important house of Erroll had similar covenants with its collateral branches, as also with the Earls of Huntly and Rothes, and with Keiths, Irvines, Forbeses, Frasers, Cheynes, Bannerman of Waterton, Buchan of Auchmacoy, Meldrum of Fyvie, Udny of Udny, Mowat of Balquholly, and various of the gentry of the Carse of Gowrie and other distant places. The Forbeses, Leslies, and other leading families were similarly fortified. The result altogether was a network of offensive and defensive alliances which had their natural and frequent outcome in feuds, forays, and civil war. At the Reformation the Earl of Huntly was under a bond of manrent to the Bishop of Aberdeen, and the opposition of Huntly to the Reformation carried with it a powerful body of allies, vassals, and dependents.

When the succession fell to the fourth earl the Gordon in-

fluence ceased during his minority to be felt in the old way, but on taking up the management of his affairs he was backed by all the strength and influence of the Gordon connection, and soon developed no small degree of sagacity and practical statesmanship. After the battle of Haddonrig, which he had won, he exhibited considerable diplomatic skill as well as spirit in fencing with the demands of the Earl of Rutland, the English commander on the marches. Desiring to maintain peace, he opposed the fatal expedition which ended in the disaster of Solway Moss, where a hundred Aberdeen men fought under the royal banner. In the troubled interregnum that followed the death of James V. he was among the most active of the Scottish statesmen who supported the queen-mother and Cardinal Beaton in their struggle for power, which speedily became a conflict of creeds. But Huntly's assiduous attention to State affairs did not interfere with his efforts to strengthen his hereditary position. He was appointed Lieutenant of the North at the end of March 1543, and in the course of the next ten years he had not only succeeded in attaching to his interest most of the barons in his province as well as the chiefs of clans, but had formed alliances for mutual support with some of the most powerful southern nobles, and among them the Earls of Crawford and Argyll. His policy aimed at keeping all power in the north entirely in his own hands, and while giving support to the queen and Beaton, he was not to press too heavily upon the Reforming lords. Though the leader of the Catholic party, his attachment to the old religion was tempered by caution, especially after the murder of the cardinal.

Within two years after his appointment to the northern lieutenancy Huntly was elected, in January 1544-45, to the provostship of Aberdeen, on the resignation of Thomas Menzies of Pitfodels, who had held the office continuously

for seven years, and who after Huntly's occupancy of it was re-elected to the civic chair, and held it again without interruption for the unparalleled term of twenty-eight years (1547-1575). Huntly's election seems to have been connected with the state of affairs created by the landing of an English army at Leith. Menzies opposed the French alliance for the young queen promoted by Huntly, and was suspected of favouring the designs of Henry VIII. for a marriage between Mary and Prince Edward; and there had been some opposition to his re-election at the preceding Michaelmas. A probable reason for Huntly's acceptance of the office, as well as for the action of the citizens in electing him, may be found in the advantage for purposes of defence against invasion that would arise from the consolidation of the forces of town and country under his leadership. There was a party in the town council, headed by "Master John Gordon," strongly attached to his interest, and the increasing apprehension of danger seems to have given this party complete ascendancy. Under these circumstances the earl acceded to the call addressed to him in the name of the citizens, and in January 1545 he was appointed their provost. His provostship, so far as can be gleaned from the records, was not specially distinguished by notable events or incidents. He was for the most part an absentee, with Menzies as his substitute at first, but afterwards his relative Baillie John Gordon. The Scottish event of his municipal reign was the battle of Pinkie. This was one of the occasions on which the Earl of Huntly sent out the fiery cross to his tenants and vassals, and probably also throughout the north. A force of 8000 men marched with him to Edinburgh, and shared in the disastrous defeat. The Aberdeen contingent in this force took with it "the laird of Drum's falcon," a piece of ordnance for the safe return of which to its owner the town became responsible. The earl

himself, who had challenged Somerset to single combat, was taken prisoner as he fought in gilt and enamelled armour at the head of his men. The Gordons suffered heavily in the last attack upon the English, by which Huntly with the rear-guard sought to retrieve the fortunes of the battle, and among the slain, with several of the Gordon lairds and their sons, were Johnston, younger of Caskieben; a Leslie of the Wardes family; John Erskine, Master of Buchan; and, besides others of less note, Finlay Mohr, the stalwart chief of the newly established family of Farquharson, who is traditionally said to have borne the royal standard. About thirty Aberdeen burghers, many of whose names suggest their connection with the chief families of the town, likewise fell in the battle. Banff, too, had sent a contingent, as it afterwards provided for the maintenance, education, and dowry of the orphan daughter of John Ord, who fell in the battle, by assigning her a share in the Deveron salmon-fishings.

Energetic preparations were again made against an apprehended visit of the English fleet. The magistrates applied to the queen and the governor (Arran) for letters calling on the whole country to assist the town; but it does not appear that any assistance was obtained, and Huntly, whose aid might have been counted on, was still a prisoner in England.

When peace was concluded in 1550 the town gave its formal approval to the treaty and sent Gilbert Menzies, the provost's son, to Edinburgh to affix the common seal to the document. At a somewhat later date Menzies was sent again to Edinburgh, to complain to the queen and the Lords of Secret Council of "the great exorbitant taxations imposed on this poor town," and to obtain remission of part of the burden. As indicated by the allocation of taxes for national purposes, Dundee and Aberdeen were of about equal status as the second and third in wealth of the Scottish burghs.

The place of Glasgow was below Montrose, though higher than Inverness, Elgin, and Banff.

Meanwhile the politic character of Huntly had been finding sufficient occupation in negotiating for his release and in fencing with the inducements held out to him to join the English party. His presence was greatly needed both at Court and in his own territory, where his affairs seem to have been chiefly managed by his two relatives the Bishop of Aberdeen and the Earl of Sutherland. Huntly was at length induced to sign an agreement pledging himself to promote the interests of England, but, finding himself intercepted at Morpeth on his way to Scotland, and distrusting Somerset's pledges, he contrived to make his escape, and at the end of 1548 he was once more in Scotland. He was warmly welcomed by the queen-regent, who conferred upon him the earldom of Moray, then in the hands of the Crown, and whom he accompanied on her political mission to France. After his return he headed an unsuccessful expedition to the West Highlands for the repression of the Camerons and John of Moidart, the head of the Clanranald. Huntly's force consisted of his immediate vassals and a body of the Clanchattan —the latter ill-affected towards him by reason of the recent execution of William Mackintosh, their chief, after conviction by a jury at Aberdeen, on a charge of conspiring against his life. In these circumstances Huntly found himself unable to pursue the rebels into their fastnesses; but for his failure to do so he was imprisoned in Edinburgh and denuded of the chancellorship, as also of his tenure of the earldoms of Mar and Moray. From this time onward he resided chiefly on his estates in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire until 1557, when he regained favour at Court and was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom and invested with almost unlimited powers.

The splendour of Huntly's establishment was not only the marvel of his northern retainers, visitors, and rivals, but was hardly less surprising to strangers familiar with the Courts of England and France. "His house was fair and best furnished of any house I have seen in this country," wrote Thomas Randolph, the English ambassador, to Cecil, after a visit paid to Strathbogie; "his cheer is marvellous great." Some years before Randolph's visit the earl had received the queen-regent as his guest. The castle had lately been enlarged and adorned in a magnificent style. After a few days of lavish entertainment the queen-regent proposed to leave lest a prolongation of her stay should cause inconvenience, but on Huntly's earnest solicitation she agreed to remain, and at her request he showed her over the castle, including its cellars and larders, which contained an immense quantity of wildfowl and venison. Inquiry as to the source of such supplies elicited the information that the earl's hunters and fowlers were constantly at work in his forests and moors, and that even from the most distant of these the produce of the chase was daily forwarded to Strathbogie. The retinue of the earl's guest included D'Oysel, a Frenchman, to whose evil counsels not a little of her unpopularity was supposed to be due, and who on this occasion suggested that such a powerful noble should not be tolerated in so small and poor a kingdom as Scotland, and that the wings of the "Cock of the North," as he was called, should be clipped before he became too arrogant.[1]

The course of the Reformation in the two counties was affected by local feuds and the jealousy of the nobles towards the great ecclesiastics, who by their wealth and learning had commended themselves to successive kings as the fittest men for the great offices of State and for embassies to foreign

[1] Historical MSS. Commission, First Report, p. 114.

Courts. Above all, the Church lands and revenues were a temptation swaying the great territorial families to the side of the Reformation. Scions of the Gordon family had been pressed from time to time into the great positions in the Church, and on the eve of the Reformation feus and leases of the Church lands were granted in large numbers and on easy terms to the family connections of the Gordon interest. After Huntly, by far the most influential peer in the north-east was the Earl Marischal, whose castle of Dunnottar, with the greater part of his Kincardineshire estates, lay in the territory dominated by the Lords of the Congregation, but who by his marriage with the coheiress of his distant relative, William Keith of Inverugie, had added greatly to his possessions and power in Buchan, and had acquired an interest also in the old lands of the Cheynes in Banffshire, Moray, and Caithness. Among his first recorded acts after he came into power in Buchan was to get his brother, Robert Keith, appointed commendator, or lay abbot, of Deer (1543); and on the death of this abbot nine years afterwards, the earl's son, of the same name, a boy of fifteen years of age, was made his successor in the commendatorship, and from time to time granted feu-charters of the abbey lands and tacks of its teind-sheaves, at easy rents, that would soon cease to be paid, to swell the revenues of the earldom. The policy of Marischal came to full fruition when the second Abbot Robert Keith resigned the whole lands, tithes, and other property into the king's hands to be erected into a temporal lordship, to be called the lordship of Altrie, in favour of himself for his lifetime and after his death to George, Earl Marischal, the deed on the subject alleging that most of the property was already let in feu-farm to the earl.

The younger coheiress of Keith of Inverugie was the wife of William, Lord Forbes, and contributed to the further en-

richment of the head of a powerful connection which, in addition to the older Forbes properties, now held most of the Vale of Alford, and had offshoots dotted all over the county, as at Pitsligo, Tolquhon, Echt, Cromar, Towie, and Monymusk. The precedent of Deer was followed at the Priory of Monymusk, where a Forbes prior completed the surrender to his family connection of all the landed possessions and revenues under his control. So likewise a member of the Leslie family became commendator of Lindores, and the Lindores revenues in Aberdeenshire passed into the hands of the Leslies. These great territorial families, all implicated in the diversion of Church property and revenues, were differently affected at different times towards the change of religion. In general terms it may be said that they worked for the overthrow of the Church, and when the change in religion took place their policy had for one of its great objects to withhold the old ecclesiastical endowments from the Protestant establishment. The fourth Earl Marischal's conduct was ambiguous in every sense except that he clung tenaciously to as many of these endowments as he could bring into his grasp. As a politician he had wavered and temporised, but when the Estates met in August 1560 to adopt the Protestant Confession as the established creed of Scotland he took the lead in moving its adoption, declaring that he had long had some favour for "the truth" and suspicion of "the papistical religion," but now was fully resolved to approve the one and condemn the other. Eighteen months afterwards the leader of the Protestant party, Lord James Stewart, became his son-in-law. Marischal now identified himself with the Court party as against the more extreme Lords of the Congregation and ministers of the Kirk, and when, after Mary's abdication, there was a fresh division of parties, with the adherents of the king on one side and those of

the queen on the other, he withdrew from active life, and was seldom seen outside the Castle of Dunnottar.

As Huntly was the head of the Catholic party, his rivals, the Forbeses, naturally drew to the other side, and some of the chiefs of the Forbes clan were already avowed Protestants, while the Keiths and the Irvines were likewise showing an inclination towards the Reforming party. One of the first signs of religious revolution in Aberdeenshire was the burning of the church of Echt about 1558, and the monitions against the perpetrators that were sent to Auchindoir and Kearn, among other places, suggest that the Forbeses were believed to be concerned in the outrage.

The clergy began at last to be thoroughly alarmed. They were well aware how much the evil lives of their own order had to do with the peril that portended the overthrow of the Church. A document has been preserved which brings before us with remarkable vividness the state of religion in the diocese of Aberdeen, and especially at its headquarters. In view of the crisis that had arisen, as evidenced by the influential adhesion to the Bond of 1557, or First Covenant, by which the Lords of the Congregation, as they henceforth called themselves, renounced the authority of the Church of Rome, and the ominous agitation that had followed the burning of Walter Mill at St Andrews for heresy, Bishop Gordon asked the dean and chapter for their advice in regard to the Reformation and the suppression of heresy. The response to this request was given in a memorial in which the bishop was recommended to cause the clergy of his diocese to reform themselves as regards their scandalous manner of living and put away their "open concubines," under the penalties imposed by the provincial synods, the members of the chapter being themselves exhorted to do likewise "in all sharpest manner." The second recommen-

dation was that the non-resident abbots and priors, who absorbed so much of the ecclesiastical revenues, should be requested to provide for at least one sermon to be preached in every parish church between the date of the memorial and Fastern's Even and another before Easter, and so on according to the regulations of the Church, and in the event of non-compliance that the bishop should himself provide preachers and set the law in motion against the defaulters; and that all who were absent from their own parish churches, especially from the sacrifice of the mass, should be cited before the ecclesiastical judges. Other recommendations were that the Earl of Huntly, as bailie of the diocese, or a "principal landed man of his kin," as also the feuars of the Church lands, should attend before the bishop on appointed days to give assistance in defending and maintaining the Catholic faith, and that special admonition should be given in the churches of New Aberdeen, Banchory-Ternan, Echt, Kinnernie, Midmar, Auchindoir, and Kearn, to all who were concerned in or knew about the burning of the church of Echt, or the casting down of images in any church within the diocese, calling upon them to reveal what they knew to the bishop or his commissaries. Lastly, in order that the advice given might have the better effect, the bishop himself was entreated to show a good example, especially by removing from his company the gentlewoman through whom he caused great scandal, and by shunning the company of those suspected of heresy and choosing associates befitting his position.[1] The memorial is signed by the dean (Erskine), treasurer, sub-chanter, several canons, and two well-known men—

[1] Registrum Episcopatus Aberd., vol. i. pp. 61-65; Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. iv. pp. 57-59.

John Leslie, or Lesley, afterwards Bishop of Ross, and Alexander Anderson, Sub-Principal of King's College.

Such was the advice offered in this remarkable memorial, which closed with the expression of a belief that were the advice acted upon all would yet come well. Bad as was the conduct of Bishop Gordon, however, it would probably be unjust to the diocese of Aberdeen to suppose that its condition was worse than that of the other dioceses of Scotland. In the 'Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Statuta,' the publication of which, with its exhaustive and luminous Preface, was Dr Joseph Robertson's last and most important service to Scottish history, it is seen that all through the three centuries of Scottish ecclesiastical legislation the vices of the clergy stand confessed, deplored, and condemned in the provincial and synodal canons. So it was also, however, throughout Western Christendom.[1] The Councils sought in vain to recall the clergy to a sense of their duty; in vain were the satires written of Lyndsay and Buchanan as of Chaucer, Rabelais, and Erasmus. James V., with no liking for the Lutheran doctrines, had with great plainness of speech exhorted the bishops and clergy of Scotland to reform their lives under a threat that if his warning were neglected he would deal with them after the fashion of his uncle in England, and had in his last Parliament declared that the misconduct of the clergy was the reason why the Church and churchmen were derided and despised. Therefore although the diocese of Aberdeen was deplorably unfortunate in its last pre-Reformation bishop, the authentic records of the time involve too many of his brethren, from Cardinal Beaton downward, in the same condemnation.[2] Only a few

[1] Robertson, Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Statuta, vol. i. p. 105, &c.

[2] Statuta, &c., vol. ii. pp. 283, 301, &c.

years before, indeed, there had been in Aberdeen the flagrant scandal of the outrageously immoral life of John Elphinstone, rector of Invernochty, culminating in murder and in a violent assault on a clergyman engaged in the performance of service in the cathedral. The Church had found itself impotent to deal with evils that made it a reproach among men. Its clergy were corrupt and ignorant, and its overgrown endowments, amounting in Scotland to probably half the wealth of the country, had led to the appointment of unfit men to the greater benefices. The foisting by the Earl of Huntly of a member of the Gordon family into the episcopal office on the death of Elphinstone, and the unhappy appointment, in the next generation, of the uncle of the earl then in possession, are examples of a prevailing practice which was to have its full fruition in the spoliation of the Church through lay incumbents connected with noble and landed families.

CHAPTER VII.

THE REFORMATION—CONTRAST BETWEEN ITS COURSE IN ABERDEENSHIRE AND IN SCOTLAND SOUTH OF THE GRAMPIANS — CHURCH REVENUES ABSORBED BY OUTSIDE SUPERIORS—CHURCH-WRECKING IN THE SOUTH —DIVISION OF OPINION IN ABERDEEN—DESTRUCTION OF THE MONASTERIES — ATTACK ON THE CATHEDRAL — PRONOUNCEMENT OF THE CITIZENS—ADAM HERIOT, FIRST PROTESTANT MINISTER OF ABERDEEN —VISITATION BY KNOX—ATTITUDE OF THE UNIVERSITY AND EJECTION OF THE CATHOLIC TEACHERS—PRINCIPAL ARBUTHNOT—ORDINANCES OF THE KIRK-SESSION — MINISTRY OF JOHN CRAIG AND ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY—RIVALRY BETWEEN HUNTLY AND LORD JAMES STEWART — THE QUEEN'S RETURN FROM FRANCE: MISSION OF JOHN LESLIE — HER NORTHERN TOUR — THE BATTLE OF CORRICHIE — DEATH OF HUNTLY — EXECUTION OF SIR JOHN GORDON — FORFEITURE AND RESTORATION—THE FORBES AND GORDON FIGHTS AT TILLYANGUS AND CRABSTANE — THE TOWIE TRAGEDY — SIR ADAM GORDON OF AUCHINDOUN — EXACTIONS OF THE REGENT MORTON — VACILLATION OF THE SIXTH EARL OF HUNTLY — PROCEEDINGS OF THE "POPISH LORDS" — THEIR ULTIMATUM TO ABERDEEN — THE BATTLE OF GLENLIVET — TERMINATION OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ROMAN CATHOLICISM AND PROTESTANTISM.

THE overthrow of the Church of Rome was effected in the north-east of Scotland in a quiet and matter-of-fact fashion that presents a marked contrast to the tumults that attended the progress of the Reformers in other parts of the country. It was not until the Reformation had become an accomplished fact to the south of the Grampians that Aberdeen and Banff were called upon to choose with which side they were to cast in their lot, and their acceptance of the principles of Protestantism, when these were suddenly brought

before them in 1559-60, was in a singularly practical and unimpassioned spirit. The populace had not come under the influence of Knox or any of the other fiery evangelists of the new creed, but the readiness with which the Reformation was at last effected in the two north-eastern counties shows that here, as elsewhere, the time was ripe for the change. It cannot be shown that either in town or country the Roman Church was regarded with hostility, and many benefits must in fairness be set down to its credit. No Scottish diocese could point to such an unblemished succession of prelates, or to grander monuments of episcopal munificence. When we remember, too, that within the memory of the generation that accepted the tenets of Knox the Roman Church had been illustrated by the saintly life and noble work of Bishop Elphinstone, the facility with which the people surrendered their old religious ideals must be considered all the more remarkable.

One of the Roman Church's chief sources of weakness in the two counties is found in the large possessions and patronages which had been gifted to outside religious foundations, so that the two counties were annually drained of large revenues, which probably were not collected without considerable pressure. When the Reformation began to gain ground in the south, the Church vassals in Aberdeenshire, most of whom were of the rank of barons, could not have been indifferent to the prospect of getting rid of their ecclesiastical superiors, while the agricultural tenant, whatever his misgivings may have been in turning his back upon priest and altar, saw some profit in getting rid of the irritating parochial dues which beset him at every incident in his domestic life. It must have been such material advantages that swayed the minds of the masses in Aberdeenshire, for

they apparently had little opportunity of grasping the doctrinal issues at stake until the Reformation was brought upon them as an accomplished fact.

Counsels of internal reformation were now too late. Angus and the Mearns had already embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, and the Reformers south of the Dee were eagerly watching for their opportunity to repeat in Aberdeen such scenes of sacrilege, robbery, and demolition as had already been witnessed in Perth and St Andrews, and were being repeated in other places in central and southern Scotland. The first sign of serious alarm in Aberdeen occurs on June 16, 1559, six weeks after the landing of John Knox at Leith, and five weeks after the rioters of Perth had begun to sack and destroy the religious houses. On that date the chaplains of St Nicholas appeared before the magistrates and requested them, in view of the wrecking and looting of churches, to provide for the safety of the silver work and ornaments of St Nicholas, which were to this end handed over to the custody of the magistrates on the understanding that they would be restored when the danger had passed away. The portended storm did not yet break, however, and six months afterwards an order was given by the council for the execution of certain ordinary repairs in the fabric of the church. But the respite was of brief duration. On the 29th of December Provost Menzies invited the council to take measures for resisting a body of Mearns and Angus men who were coming to the town "to destroy and cast down the kirks and religious places thereof, under colour and pretence of godly reformation." The council was divided in sentiment. By a majority it refused to take the action recommended by the provost, who thereupon recorded his protest, to which nine of his colleagues signified their adherence. The

expected visit of the Reformers took place immediately afterwards. To a town's meeting on January 4, 1559-60, convoked by the magistrates, but from which the provost and most of his party were absent, it was reported that "certain strangers and some neighbours and indwellers of the town" had attacked the monasteries of the Dominicans, Trinity Friars, and Franciscans, and had wrecked the several buildings, leaving only the bare walls. The Trinity Monastery was set on fire, and a wounded monk, Friar Francis, perished in the flames. The rioters proceeded next to the cathedral in Old Aberdeen. The plate, jewels, and ornaments had been previously committed for safety to the care of the Earl of Huntly. The chancel, however, was wrecked by the mob, who stripped the roof of its lead, and carried away the bells and all the spoil they could secure, putting it on board ship for disposal in Holland; but, says Father Hay in his narrative, "all this ill-gotten wealth sank by the just judgment of God not far from the Girdleness." In the end Huntly arrived upon the scene with Leslie of Balquhain, sheriff of the county, and their authority, aided by the eloquence of John Leslie, preserved the building from destruction. The university seems to have escaped serious attack, although there likewise the Principal had taken the precaution of removing books and valuables to a place of safety. Nor does it appear that any attack was made by the mob upon the church of St Nicholas.

The dominant party in the town seem to have had no objection to the looting of the interiors of the monasteries, but on the "rascal multitude" proceeding to unroof the houses, and to take away the slates, timber, and stones, an interposition of the head-court to stay the work of destruction took place. Now for the first time was utterance publicly

given to sentiments in favour of the new doctrines. All but unanimously the proposal was carried that the materials of the monasteries and the crofts of the Friars should be taken over by the town. The silver and ornaments of St Nicholas Church had been committed to the custody of four members of the Roman Catholic party, who were now called upon to resign their charge in favour of the committee intrusted with the care and disposal of the Friars' properties. The chalices, silver work, and ornaments were sold by public roup a year afterwards, by which time the Protestant religion had been established by law, the proceeds of the sale being applied to the improvement of the harbour and the upkeep of the bridge of Don and the town's artillery and defences. Some years afterwards the altars with their "backs" were removed, the ornamental choir-stalls sawn away, and the pipes of the organs packed into cases.

Two months after the attack on the religious houses the citizens formally resolved to support the Congregation, and the council voted £400 to defray the expenses of forty armed men who were to be sent to its assistance, subject to the condition that nothing was to be done in opposition to the queen's authority. The secularisation of Church property was opposed by Provost Menzies and his party, though they had remained quiescent during the riot, and the provost put on record another protest against the action of the majority, but nothing followed on it, and he remained for other fifteen years at the head of the municipality. On the other hand, we find churchmen bending before the inevitable. Thus on the eve of the inroad of Reforming zealots from the south, John Roger, the superior of the Grey Friars, with consent and assent of his convent, resigned to the community the hospital, buildings, and yards of the monastery, subject to restitution

in the event of a general restoration of monastic property to its former owners.

The part of Aberdeenshire in the Reformation was meagre indeed as compared with that of Perth, Fife, and Ayr. None of the leaders of the movement sprang from the region between the Dee and the Spey, which, on the other hand, was prolific in champions of the Catholic faith, and the change did not wholly take place upon the destruction of the religious houses and the resolution of the community to support the Congregation. Though the Friars were dispersed the Roman ritual was not superseded, and the cathedral still remained in the hands of the dean and chapter. The influence and attitude of Huntly towards the Reformation made its prospect in the town and counties very uncertain during the first years of its legal existence. He found himself unable or unwilling to take a decided part in the issue between the two creeds. Through his support, however, and the quiescent spirit generally prevailing in the city, the Bishop of Aberdeen was able to remain in his diocese when the other members of the Scottish episcopate had to flee for their lives.

Immediately after the legal establishment of Protestantism the Lords of the Congregation provided Aberdeen with a zealous minister in the person of Adam Heriot, who had been an Augustinian monk of St Andrews, and after some wavering had finally broken with Rome in the preceding year. It was recognised, according to Spottiswoode, that the Roman profession still prevailed in Aberdeen, and that Heriot, by his familiarity with scholastic divinity and his moderation, as well as by his diligence in teaching both in schools and in the Church, was specially suited to gain the Aberdonians to the Protestant side. This judgment seems to have been fully borne out by his career in Aberdeen, and we find the citizens

presenting him with a suit of clerical attire "in respect of his great and continual labour in the ministry," and agreeing to pay him £200 Scots until other provision were made for his support, this being the amount which the Corporation of Edinburgh paid to John Knox. We are told by Spottiswoode that he was greatly beloved of the citizens for his humane and courteous conversation, and at his decease much lamented by the poor, to whom he had been a benefactor. During Heriot's ministry Knox, at the request of the Assembly, visited Aberdeen and the neighbouring churches (1564), but unfortunately no record in detail of his ministrations in these parts has come down to us. The visit of the Reformer no doubt had to do with the work of "purging" and reorganisation. In the parts of Scotland more strongly in sympathy with the Reformation than Aberdeenshire and Banffshire can be said to have been there was for a time a great scarcity of ministers, and generations were to pass before each parish was provided for. Three years after Knox's visit nearly every parish in the two counties had its "reader," but there were only some two dozen ministers and exhorters to the entire diocese of Aberdeen.[1]

The university had already for a time lost its pristine glory, though one or two men of mark were still connected with it and formed a centre of sentiment and influence opposed to the views of the extreme Reformers. Randolph, who was with the Court at Old Aberdeen in 1562, reports that there were at that time only fifteen or sixteen students at the college. Alexander Anderson, now Principal, and John Leslie, who was Professor of Canon Law, as well as Official of the diocese, with Patrick Myrton, the diocesan treasurer, and James Strachan, one of the canons, all signatories of the memorial to the bishop, were summoned in January 1561 to appear before the General Assembly in Edinburgh. By

[1] Collections, &c., Spalding Club, pp. 226-230.

Knox and others they were severely cross-examined as to their faith, and especially in regard to the mass. The result was that each side claimed a dialectical victory, and that the Assembly ordered "these clerks of Aberdeen to ward in Edinburgh a long space thereafter," and deposed them from the office of preaching.

A commission headed by John Erskine of Dun, "Superintendent" of Angus and Mearns, "visited" the sheriffdom in 1569, and was joined in Aberdeen by the Regent Murray, who was returning from the north. Principal Anderson and his colleagues were ordered by the regent and commissioners to sign the Confession of Faith, and, failing to give satisfaction, were summarily deprived of their functions.

A liberal infusion of Protestant blood from the south was now introduced. Alexander Arbuthnot, a gifted and scholarly member of the Kincardineshire family afterwards ennobled, was appointed to the principalship. He had been a student of Aberdeen, it is said, had graduated at St Andrews, had been named by the first General Assembly in 1560 as one of the young men of promising talents for the ministry, and had studied for five years at Bourges under Cujacius. Murray, who had appointed Buchanan to the principalship of St Leonard's College, selected Arbuthnot at the early age of thirty-one for the corresponding office at Aberdeen. Prior to this he had been for a year parson of the Aberdeenshire parishes of Logie-Buchan and Forvie. Two of his colleagues were James Lawson, his friend and fellow-student, afterwards the successor of Knox in Edinburgh, who was appointed Sub-Principal, and Hercules Rollock, elder brother of the more celebrated regent and principal of Edinburgh University. The Protestant historians testify that Arbuthnot's diligent and good government revived learning in Aberdeen and gained many over from superstition; and Bishop Spottis-

woode states that he was beloved by all, and that his advice was sought by the chief men in the north. Through his instrumentality considerable endowments from the ecclesiastical revenues were obtained for the university, but its continued weakness is soon reflected in schemes of reform. Closely associated with Andrew Melville since their school-days at Montrose, Arbuthnot acted with him in ecclesiastical and academic affairs, and when Episcopalianism asserted itself under the patronage of King James they lost the royal favour together by their strenuous upholding of the Presbyterian order. The General Assembly wished to remove Arbuthnot to St Andrews, but the king and Council charged him to remain in Aberdeen "under pain of horning," an interposition of the civil power that was made a subject of formal complaint by the Assembly but defended by the Government as having "good grounds and reason in the general state of the north country." Arbuthnot's sensitive nature chafed under this check, to which his early death has been partly attributed. But for the wasting of his powers on contentions for which men of stronger nerve were better fitted he might have attained to one of the highest places in Scottish literature. His 'Miseries of a Poor Scholar,' and other pieces, show him to be possessed of the spirit of true poetry as well as of the faculty of elegant versification.

Early in Heriot's incumbency the newly-formed kirk-session passed a series of ordinances for reformation of manners, which exhibit in a clear light several features in the state of society at this period of rapid change. One of these rules prohibits "disputation of the Scriptures" at dinner, supper, or open table, "through which arises much contention and debate." The Aberdonians, as we have seen, acquiesced in the Reformation, rather than warmly embraced it, and at a time when ecclesiastical and theological systems

were in the melting-pot these casual disputations would tend to exasperate feeling and hinder the Protestant reconstruction. Punishment, "according to the order of other reformed towns," was to be meted out to Roman Catholics slandering members of the Congregation, and to persons scoffing at the preaching or office-bearers of the reformed Church, or persuading "the simple and ignorant" to absent themselves from preaching or prayers. The records of the kirk-session show that these regulations were not permitted to remain inoperative. Transgressors against "the religion" by not attending church were to be first dealt with gently, and then, if necessary, proceeded against for contumacy; but presently one of the city magistrates and two elders of the church were appointed to go through the town and take note of absentees from sermon. Priests or friars who remained in the town were required to conform, and occasionally pressure was brought to bear on persons of importance, as Gilbert Menzies, the younger, who was ordered by the session to attend communion. But it does not appear that the laws were administered with severity.

Before the Reformation there had been a revulsion of sentiment against the plays and revels for a time so much in vogue, and the general statutes against them were to a certain extent enforced by the magistrates. The old use of the burgh was pleaded in vain as an excuse in 1562 by some of the citizens called to account for passing to the wood to bring in summer on the first Sunday of May, contrary to the Acts and statutes of the queen and Council, and the transgressors were called upon to do penance in church on the following Sunday. Some years afterwards five of the citizens—one of them being Matthew Guild, armourer, father of Dr William Guild who was to play a prominent part in the history of the city and university in

the following century — were imprisoned and deprived of their freedom to exercise their crafts for passing along the Gallowgate on Sunday with a minstrel band playing before them. Playing and singing or even abstention from ordinary work on Christmas Day were repressed, but it is evident that many of the public were reluctant to give up their old Yule-tide customs.

These various regulations and proceedings on the part of the local authorities are in general accordance with the action taken by other Scottish communities. So it is also with respect to repression of Sunday marketing, Sunday fishing, and playing on the Links on the first day of the week. There were general statutes on the subject, yet we find the Convention of Burghs in 1578 representing that the burghs suffer injury through "the holding of open markets at landward kirks upon the Sunday" in defiance of the law, and imposing a money penalty on any burgh permitting Sunday markets. Aberdeen was to collect and account for penalties incurred north of the Dee—Dundee, Cupar-Fife, and Edinburgh being similarly charged to look after breaches of this law elsewhere in Scotland.

Immediately after the Reformation there were in Aberdeen, according to the kirk-session records, a number of suspected persons, of evil report, from other towns and places, having no occupation, craft, or handling of merchandise as a source of income, yet spending a great deal of money and going about at night playing cards and dice. These persons were to be banished from the town, and branded on the cheek should they return. At the same period many persons in Aberdeen, in the words of the record, were "handfast as they call it," which is explained to mean that they had been living together under promise of marriage, it might be for six or seven years, or even longer. These irregular relations

had received a certain sanction of usage and even of the Church; but they were to be no longer countenanced, and all handfasted persons were to incur Church censure and discipline if the marriage were not completed forthwith.

The Church appointed some of its best men to the incumbency of Aberdeen, and on the retirement of Heriot by reason of ill-health in 1573 it sent John Craig to take his place. Craig, who was educated at St Andrews, may have been descended of the family of Craigfintry or Craigston in Aberdeenshire, and so have been a partial exception to the rule that these counties contributed no eminent men to the ranks of the Reformers. He had been a Dominican monk, had become acquainted with Calvin's writings at a monastery in Bologna, and had narrowly escaped being committed to the flames for heresy. Returning to Scotland in 1560, he became one of the first ministers of the Protestant Church. Though a zealous Reformer, who had a chief hand in drawing up the National Covenant, Craig was a man of prudence, and would not go to extremes. During his six years' ministry in Aberdeen he was commissioned to "visit" the churches of Lower and Middle Deeside, Garioch, and Banff, and was for a second time Moderator of the General Assembly. On the establishment of Episcopacy, he was with Andrew Strachan, minister of Dun, collator of David Cunningham to the see of Aberdeen. Craig left Aberdeen to be chaplain to the king, between whom and the extreme Presbyterians he interposed from time to time as mediator.

During the initial stages of the popular revolt, Huntly had been quietly watching the current of events as if uncertain what his course might be. More than once he had interposed in the interests of peace between the queen-regent and the Lords of the Congregation, but he disliked

her policy, and resented the presence in Scotland of the French troops by which it was supported. On the plea of illness he was absent from the Parliament which established Protestantism, but when after the death of the queen-regent the party which had been exercising authority at Edinburgh deputed Lord James Stewart (afterwards Regent Murray) to visit the young queen, his half-sister, on the eve of her return from France, Huntly and the party of the old Church sent John Leslie to invite her to land at Aberdeen, with the assurance that an army of 20,000 of her faithful subjects would meet her there and conduct her to Edinburgh in independence of the Congregation. Leslie was the first to obtain an audience, but the queen judged it the more prudent course to go direct to Edinburgh. This mission of Leslie marks the development of the breach between Huntly and the southern Lords which had manifested itself at the overthrow of Roman Catholicism by the Parliament, when Lord James Stewart, Argyll, and Athole entered into a secret league to "bridle him if he intend any mischief." Huntly paid his respects to the queen as soon as possible after her unexpected arrival at Leith, and during the performance of a mystery-play before the queen and Court in Edinburgh he peremptorily suppressed a ribald burlesque of the mass. The mass had been declared illegal, but Huntly assured the Queen that if she sanctioned the step he would restore its celebration in the north-eastern counties.

The course of affairs was governed in a great degree by personal causes. Lord James Stewart became a rival of Huntly in Huntly's own country. Early in 1562, when he married Marischal's daughter, the queen raised him to the earldom of Mar, having previously granted him the lands of Strathdee, Braemar, and Cromar. The earldom of Moray was shortly afterwards conferred on him, with gift of the tack

and assedation of the Moray possessions forfeited by Huntly. The queen—so at least it appeared to Huntly—was entirely in the hands of Murray, as he must now be called, who had thus practically served himself heir to some of the most important of the Huntly honours and possessions. Such a combination of interests in the north was ominous as well as provocative to the great earl whose rule only a few years before had been unquestioned from sea to sea. Murray for his part knew well that a trial of strength was before him, and resolved that the power of Huntly should be broken.

A visit of the queen to the northern parts of her dominions had been arranged by Murray to take place at the time of his marriage, but was temporarily postponed, and when it took place Huntly, who regarded it as a move inimical to himself, retired to Strathbogie on a plea of ill-health. Meanwhile a new complication arose. Ogilvie of Findlater disinherited his son in favour of his relative, Sir John Gordon, a son of Huntly, and young Ogilvie and Gordon having met in Edinburgh they quarrelled and fought, Ogilvie being wounded. Gordon was committed to prison by order of Murray, but soon escaped to the north. The queen's journey followed almost immediately. She reached Aberdeen towards the end of August, attended by Murray, Morton, Maitland, and other prominent men, with an escort or guard of honour; and a loyal welcome was accorded her by the citizens, on whose behalf Provost Menzies handed her a gift of 2000 merks. Among those who paid their respects to her at Old Aberdeen, where she was the guest of the Bishop, was the Countess of Huntly. Randolph, who accompanied the royal party, reported to the English Government that Huntly was not in the queen's favour, and that she would not say that she would visit his house though she was to be passing within three miles, and it "the fairest in the country."

A dutiful invitation was courteously pressed by the Countess, but Mary, always governed as would seem by Murray, made the fact of a member of the family being a fugitive from justice a reason for refusing, and demanded that Sir John Gordon should go back to prison. The idea of his doing so was at first entertained, but when he found that Lord Erskine, the uncle of Murray, was to be his keeper, he refused to surrender.

From Old Aberdeen the queen and her train passed on to Balquhain Castle, the residence of Sir William Leslie, Sheriff of Aberdeenshire, who had taken part in saving the cathedral in 1560, and was soon to receive from Bishop Gordon the reward of his steadfastness in a feu-charter of the barony of Fetternear with the bishop's palace and lands. Here the queen attended mass — an indication that the change of religion had not yet taken place in Aberdeenshire. From Balquhain the royal party passed on to Rothiemay and Darnaway, where Murray was formally invested with his earldom, and a council was held from which an order was issued commanding Sir John Gordon to surrender the castles of Findlater and Auchindoun, which he had acquired through the Ogilvie connection. On the return journey, by way of Cullen and Banff, admittance was refused at the Castle of Findlater and again at Auchindoun, and a company of soldiers sent against Findlater was disarmed by Sir John. Huntly, who meanwhile had caused the keys of both castles to be sent to the queen, was summoned to attend with his son before the Privy Council at Aberdeen within six days, and on the summons being disregarded they were denounced as rebels. An armed force was sent to attack Strathbogie Castle, but Huntly had left before it arrived, and was on his way towards Aberdeen at the head of a body of his followers.

Murray summoned military assistance from the south, and in the name of the queen called upon the Aberdeenshire landed gentry to come to her aid. A Privy Council, held in Aberdeen on October 26, was attended by five earls of the Protestant party—Murray, Morton, Marischal, Erroll, and Athole—and by Lord Erskine; and it issued orders to a number of the Gordon lairds commanding them to remain at Edinburgh, Haddington, and St Andrews. Obedience to these orders deprived Huntly of support essential to him in the struggle which he now had to face. After advancing by way of the Garioch towards the city of which he had once been Provost, he diverged towards the west, where we find him encamped at the Loch of Skene. On the royal forces going out from Aberdeen to give him battle Huntly retired to a vantage-ground at Corrichie, on the eastern slope of the Hill of Fare, whither Murray at once followed him. In respect of numbers the two sides were unequally matched. It is probably a liberal computation that credits Murray with having two thousand warriors; Huntly's followers were not half that number. At first the onslaught of the Gordons drove back the vanguard of their assailants, but the Lothian spearmen standing firm the weight of numbers soon prevailed. The earl himself, with his two sons, Sir John Gordon, the ostensible cause of the conflict, and Adam Gordon, who was to play a great part in north-eastern affairs in future years, were taken prisoners. It has been alleged that Huntly was crushed to death, that he was strangled by Murray's orders, and that he was slain by a Kincardineshire laird, but there is little reason to doubt that he died of apoplexy in the excitement attending his overthrow and capture. Randolph states that he "suddenly fell from his horse stark dead," and another contemporary authority, the 'Diurnal of Occurrents,' gives in rather more detail a similar account of his death.

The prisoners were taken to Aberdeen, where five of the Gordons were hanged two days afterwards. Sir John Gordon was sentenced to be beheaded. Queen Mary, who had been a spectator of the fight at Corrichie, beheld his execution from a window of the Earl Marischal's house on the south side of the Castlegate. Romance, rather than history, has invested the scene with additional elements of pathos turning on alleged-love passages between Gordon and Mary, and on the bad performance of his task by the executioner. The queen, who was virtually a captive in the hands of Murray, may be supposed to have been an involuntary witness of the spectacle. Strathbogie Castle was forthwith rifled of its valuable contents, among which were the treasures of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, vainly imagined to have been deposited in the place of greatest safety in all the north. Plate and jewellery and the richest and most gorgeous of the textile fabrics and apparel were removed to the Palace of Holyrood, part of them soon to decorate the hall of Kirk-o'-Field where Darnley met his doom. The remains of the earl himself were removed to Edinburgh, and six months after his decease the sentence of forfeiture was pronounced over them with every token of contumely. Lord Gordon, the heir to the earldom, who had been convicted of treason, was sent in "free ward" to the Castle of Dunbar, and kept a prisoner till the queen's marriage to Darnley led to his release in August 1565, and to his restoration to the lands and titles of his father in the following October; and on Murray, who opposed the marriage, being proclaimed a rebel, the fifth Earl of Huntly at once became a foremost power in the State. His restoration to freedom was joyfully welcomed in the north, and when shortly afterwards he summoned his vassals and hereditary allies to his own and the royal standard 6000 fighting men responded to the call.

Huntly commanded the rearguard of the army that drove Murray and the confederate lords across the English frontier, and on the flight of Morton, after the death of Rizzio, he was appointed to the office of Chancellor. The part which he played in the political struggles belongs only to a minor extent to the history of these counties, though he held the office of Lieutenant of the North so long exercised by his predecessors. For a time the government of the realm was virtually in his hands and those of the Earl of Bothwell, namely during part of the brief period of fourteen months that elapsed between the marriage of his sister, Lady Jean Gordon, to Bothwell, and its dissolution in order that Bothwell might marry the queen. When Mary was imprisoned at Lochleven Huntly identified himself with her cause; he was one of the nobles who entered into a bond to seek her release, and after her escape he acted with her party in military and political enterprises.

The renewed predominance of Murray after the battle of Langside brought many disturbing influences into play. His territories on the Spey and beyond it offered peculiar temptations to the turbulent Highlanders of the Gordon connection, for whom Huntly was held responsible. According to an annalist of the time,[1] Huntly "with his accomplices daily and hourly wasted the goods and gear of all them that assisted the king's authority, and took their houses and places in the queen's name as her lieutenant"; and an agent of the English Government reports that "the Earl of Huntly in the north parts plays the king, holding justice courts, beheading and hanging all who will not obey him as lieutenant under the queen's authority."[2] The earl himself being a frequent absentee, his more forceful brother, Adam Gordon of Auchin-

[1] Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland, p. 144.
[2] Historical MSS. Commission, Hatfield MSS., Pt. I. p. 374.

doun, acted as chief of the Gordons, and it can be believed that bad reports of Auchindoun would go south from the Forbeses and others of the Protestant party. Murray was preparing an expedition to the regions north of the Dee when Huntly had a conference with him at St Andrews, which resulted in an agreement whereby Huntly undertook to support the authority of Murray as regent during the king's minority, to repress any further resistance on the part of his followers and bring them to justice, to deliver up the cannon in the north, and to give hostages for the fulfilment of these terms. On the other hand, the regent granted remission to Huntly and his vassals for all past offences, subject to fines as arranged, or "reasonable compositions" upon each man's individual suit. Immediately after the conclusion of this agreement the regent proceeded to Aberdeen at the head of a military force, and held a court in the tolbooth, to which all persons who had taken part with the Earl of Huntly were summoned to answer for such offences as they had committed; "and because they could not underlie the law they compounded with his grace for great sums of money." The imposition of fines as a substitute for sterner modes of punishment was a novelty in northern jurisprudence, marking an advance of civilisation and wealth; but the obligations were more easily undertaken than met, for we learn that "never in this realm" had "such mean gentlemen paid such great sums of money."[1]

The north-east was affected by the assassination of the regent in common with the rest of Scotland. In the struggle which ensued Huntly took up arms in the queen's interest, and on receiving her commission as Lieutenant-Governor of the kingdom he proceeded to raise an army in the north, issuing at Aberdeen (June 13, 1570) a call to arms against

[1] Diurnal, p. 145.

the rebellious faction which with English aid had invested the Earl of Lennox with the regency. His levies were dispersed at Brechin by the Earl of Morton, who had been sent north by the regent. Huntly himself met in Aberdeen the emissaries of the Duke of Alva, the representative in the Netherlands of the Spanish power, the most formidable influence of the time opposed to the Reformation. As a result of the conference between Huntly and these emissaries, Lord Seton was sent to Alva with a letter from Huntly and Argyll informing him of the state of affairs, and desiring his assistance against the English, who held the queen in captivity and were invading the country. From Dunkeld, where a meeting of the queen's party was held, Huntly swept through Angus at the head of 800 men and then agreed to a truce of two months on the pretence of Elizabeth that the treaty between her and the Queen of Scots was being negotiated.

The struggle in the south now engaged Huntly's attention, one of its incidents being the surprise and death of Lennox at Stirling, followed by the appointment to the regency of the Earl of Mar — John, Lord Erskine, to whom the earldom, temporarily held by his relative Murray, had been restored in 1565, and with it the lands of Strathdon and Braemar, and the lordship and lands of the Garioch. In the north the feud between the Forbeses and Gordons was complicated and intensified by new issues. Some prospect of its termination existed for a time on the marriage of the Master of Forbes to a sister of Huntly, but the marriage proved an unhappy one, and the repudiation of his wife by the Master was resented as an affront by all the Gordon connection. A convention of the Forbeses was summoned by "Black Arthur," brother of Lord Forbes and uncle of the Master, for the purpose of composing differences and concerting common action. Hearing of the intended meeting, Sir

Adam Gordon assembled a body of his followers, with whom he swooped down on the Forbes community. A sharp encounter took place at Tillyangus, on the slope of the Coreen hills (October 9, 1571), with the result that the Forbeses were put to flight, leaving "Black Arthur" and several of their principal men dead, their losses altogether numbering 120.

A dark episode of this warfare is the theme of one of the most pathetic of Scottish ballads. After the fight at Tillyangus the Gordons presented themselves at the house or castle of Towie, belonging to one of the Forbeses, and demanded its surrender. Forbes was from home, and his wife refusing to open the door to his enemies, they set the house on fire, and all the inmates perished in the flames. The annalists differ regarding the scene of the tragedy and its position in the order of events. Matthew Lumsden, the very inaccurate genealogist of the Forbeses, writing a few years after the occurrence, makes it take place at the Castle of Corgarff; but all testimony is at one in identifying the heroine as the wife of Forbes of Towie. The besieging party was led by Captain Thomas Ker or Keir, son of a Borderer who had aided the fourth earl in his escape from England. A soldier by profession, Thomas Ker was a trusty servitor of the fourth and fifth earls, and was frequently employed in the dangerous office of passing between Scotland and England with confidential letters. But if Ker was leader of the party that burned the house of Towie, it is the knight of Auchindoun, as commander-in-chief, that is held up to obloquy for this dark act of an age of violence.

The local conflict was recognised by all parties as involving national issues. After the defeat of Tillyangus the Master of Forbes rode to Stirling to enlist the co-operation of the Regent Mar, who responded by sending north five

companies of foot and some horse, and by a proclamation setting forth that Huntly had been oppressing the lieges, and had stirred up his brother to rebellion. The men of the Mearns were summoned to meet the Master of Forbes at the Kirk of Fordoun and advance against Sir Adam Gordon, who, reinforced by forty skilled warriors sent north by Huntly, occupied Aberdeen with a body of the Huntly retainers and allies, including some bowmen furnished by the Earl of Sutherland. The southrons crossed the Dee by the bridge (November 20, 1571), and were making their way towards the city when they found their passage blocked by the Gordons at the Crabstane.[1] Ker, who had been lying in wait with a company of musketeers at Union Glen, opened fire upon the rear of the Forbeses and their southern contingent, while the Sutherland bowmen poured upon them a deadly shower of arrows. "Cruelly fochten for the space of an hour" the battle is said to have been; and threescore of the Forbeses fell in it, misread into 300 by some of the Aberdeen historians. When victory was declaring itself in his favour Sir Adam Gordon humanely ordered his men to capture and not to kill their antagonists. The Master of Forbes and a number of his followers were taken prisoners, but met with humane treatment. Aberdeen now became the base of operations against the opponents of Mary south of the Grampians, where Gordon occupied Brechin and Montrose and menaced Dundee. At Brechin, after thanksgiving in the church, he called before him nearly 200 Lindsays and Ogilvies, whom he had vanquished and captured, and discharged them on their parole to be faithful subjects

[1] An old landmark still to be seen in the Hardgate, and supposed to derive its name from John Crab, the Flemish engineer and seaman, who distinguished himself by his defence of Berwick, and in harassing English commerce in the days of Robert I. and his successor, and who acquired several properties in the town and county of Aberdeen.

of the queen. It may be that the incident at Towie led him to impose a stringent rule of moderation; at all events, the Angus men showed their appreciation of his chivalrous conduct by refusing to proceed against him, "by reason of their bond and the great gentleness of the said Adam."[1]

But a great change was at hand. The isolation of the queen at Fotheringay gradually discouraged her party, and one after another fell away. Huntly wavered. He had applied in vain to the King of France for assistance, and with renewed forfeiture staring him in the face he took occasion soon after Morton became regent to make his peace with the Government (February 1573). The Master of Forbes was liberated from his confinement at Spynie, and was soon in Aberdeen, with Forbeses, Frasers, and Mackintoshes, concerting warlike measures. Sir Adam Gordon, indignant at his brother's surrender, was at once in evidence, but as the earl was coming north he retired to France, where he narrowly escaped assassination by a party of Forbeses. Huntly died suddenly while playing football at Strathbogie in the autumn of 1576.

Aberdeen had difficulty in adjusting itself to the vicissitudes of the times. In March 1572 the town council resolved to send the town's title-deeds for safety to the stronghold of the Earl Marischal at Dunnottar — an indication that the Protestant party was in power, and that the head of the Keiths had succeeded to the position in relation to Aberdeen formerly held by the chief of the Gordons. Later in the year the sum of 600 merks was granted to Huntly "specially to remove his soldiers and men of war out of this burgh and the bounds thereof." It had been represented by the Forbes partisans that the citizens took part with the Gordons at the Crabstane, and Morton, following the example set by Murray,

[1] Diurnal, p. 305.

made this a pretext for exacting a heavy fine from the city. The regent and Privy Council were in Aberdeen at the justice-air of 1574, and the magistrates represented to them that it had been through "sinister and wrong information" that the proceedings against the town had been raised. The regent, however, exacted 4000 merks as the price of its discharge, and to this the community agreed lest worse evil should befall them. By an obligation entered into at this time, and approved by an Act of the Privy Council, the community became bound, under a heavy penalty, to elect none as office-bearers or town councillors but "such persons as are known zealous professors of the true and Christian religion now publicly preached and by law established within the realm." With Morton's favour for Protestantism was united a spirit of rapacity which he exercised on other revenues besides those of the Church. In a charter of the lands of Balgownie and Murcar to his relative George Auchinleck of Balmanno, an eminent lawyer and judge, he granted the salmon-fishings of the Lower Don, which the town had received from King Robert Bruce, and had enjoyed without challenge for two centuries and a half. The rights of the town were absolutely clear, and the fishings were restored to it by the Privy Council soon after the termination of Morton's regency.

Tranquillity continued to prevail in the two counties during the first three years of the sixth Earl of Huntly, who, being a minor, was sent to France for education, his able and experienced uncle, Sir Adam Gordon, administering the affairs of the earldom. In 1579, however, the Forbes-Gordon feud was resumed, partly in consequence of a quarrel between George Gordon of Gight and Alexander Forbes younger of Towie, resulting in bloodshed and Gordon's death, and partly of a dispute about the lands of Keig and

Monymusk which Cardinal Beaton had granted to the fourth earl. The church of St Andrews had held the superiority of these lands since the days of Malcolm Canmore, but Huntly, who had stood by the cardinal when Arran imprisoned him, received as his reward these outlying possessions of the metropolitan see. Several members of the Forbes family had become tenants of the lands, and Church tenants in these Reformation days had a practical grievance when the Church's rights were made over to a landlord strong enough to enforce them. The dispute was referred by Parliament to four commissioners, presided over by the king, and in 1582 they awarded £4000 Scots as compensation to the wife and family of Gordon of Gight, securing the Forbeses in their rights to parts of the lands of Keig and Monymusk, and allowing Huntly and his kindred to enter on the remainder without restriction.

The head of the house of Gordon was never able for long to hold himself aloof from national affairs, and the sixth earl, who afterwards became first marquis, and whose active participation in public business extended over a period of more than half a century, is found almost immediately on his accession to power in 1583 acting with the nobles opposed to the Ruthvens. For a time he wavered between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Presbyterian ministers so pressed and importuned him that he told the king that he could endure them no longer; yet on the king's advice he made his submission to the Kirk, publicly confessed his "errors," and promised to defend the Protestant religion. This was in November 1588—twenty-one months after the death of Queen Mary, and less than four months after the further blow which Catholic hopes received in the destruction of the Spanish Armada. At the instance of Queen Elizabeth a charge was brought against him of corresponding

with Parma, the Spanish proconsul in the Netherlands, when the Armada was being organised; and though he gave himself into ward and demanded trial, the flight of Erroll strengthened suspicion against him. In a short time he was set at liberty, and hearing of a plot, in which Morton and Athole were concerned, to entrap him at Perth as he went north, for which purpose a force was being assembled by the Master of Glamis, he suddenly left Edinburgh, took the plotters by surprise, and seizing Glamis carried him captive to Strathbogie. Thereupon the Protestant Lords persuaded James to summon an armed muster to proceed to Aberdeen, where Huntly and Erroll, afterwards joined by Angus, assembled a large force to contest the passage of the Bridge of Dee. On the approach of James with the southern army, however, the three earls disbanded their men—Huntly protesting that he had a commission to gather the lieges, but that nothing was further from his thoughts than to fight against the king. In Aberdeen James received formal declaration of allegiance from crowds of the northern lairds. Huntly sent the Master of Glamis to the city in charge of Captain Thomas Ker; but as the earl did not come himself, James resolved to proceed to Strathbogie—Erroll's castle of Slains having already been captured in the king's name. The journey was made in bleak April weather, and as the distance was too great to be covered in a single day the party had to camp out at night, and "the whole countryside being void both of victual and other goods—all carried into the hills"—the entertainment for royalty was of the poorest. On the night of James's arrival at Strathbogie, the earl, while repairing thither to submit, was captured by his late prisoner the Master of Glamis and lodged in the tower of Tirriesoul, whence he was sent off next day to Aberdeen in charge of a strong guard of horsemen. The king visited the

northern Highlands, and on his return to Aberdeen received the submission of the Earl of Erroll, Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, Gordon of Cluny, and others. When he reached Edinburgh he set free the Earl of Huntly, who had been warded at Borthwick Castle.

From imprisonment to the highest positions in the State was found by successive heads of the house of Gordon to be but a short journey. The sixth earl had not long recovered his freedom when he received a commission of "fire and sword" against the Earls of Bothwell and Moray, who had incurred the displeasure of the Government, and in pursuance of this commission he presented himself at Donibristle, the residence of Moray on the Fifeshire shore of the Firth of Forth, and destroyed it by fire. Moray himself and Patrick Dunbar, Sheriff of Elgin, in attempting to escape by a subterranean passage, were slain by some of Huntly's followers, and the occurrence, resembling in a more conspicuous sphere that which had taken place in Upper Donside not many years before, is similarly commemorated in Scottish ballad literature. Much resentment was awakened by it among the Presbyterian party with which Moray was associated, and the king was suspected of complicity in the affair, and was alleged to have hated Moray "for the good regent's sake" and as a favourer of Bothwell. Demands were raised that measures should be taken against Huntly, who went into voluntary ward, but was soon liberated again by James's order. Then came the incident of the "Spanish blanks"—the arrest of a member of the Ker family, as he was starting on a foreign journey, having in his possession eight sheets of paper left blank except that they bore the closing formula of a letter to royalty and were subscribed with the signatures of Huntly, Erroll, Angus, and Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun. Ker was cross-examined under torture of "the boot," and on the testimony thus wrung

from him, and afterwards repudiated, it was concluded that the blanks were to be filled up by two Jesuit "traffickers" connected with Aberdeenshire, Fathers James Crichton and James Tyrie, and that they had reference to a plot for landing Spanish troops on the Solway or Clyde to co-operate in re-establishing Roman Catholicism in Scotland and invading the territory of the Protestant Queen of England. Other intercepted letters, spurious or real, suggested the existence of active plotting in the north and much intercourse with the Duke of Parma. A Catholic reaction was manifesting itself. The Earls of Erroll and Crawford had lately been recovered to the Roman fold, and it was not doubted that Huntly's sympathies were on the same side, while his uncle, James Gordon, was one of the busiest of the many Jesuit agents in the north. The lords whose names were on the blanks were outlawed, and James, though he had little favour for the extreme Protestant party, revisited Aberdeen with a force, imposed afresh upon the magistrates and community an obligation to uphold the doctrines now established, and placed a garrison in Huntly Castle—the earl having retired to the far north. In the meantime the Mackintoshes were stirred up to clear off old scores against the Gordons, and as vassals of the Earl of Moray to avenge the affair of Donibristle. This they did by taking possession of Huntly's castle-lands of Inverness, and by a Clanchattan raid upon the Gordon possessions in Strathdee and Glenmuick. Huntly, released from his outlawry, made an expedition of vengeance against the Mackintoshes in the Inverness district. In his absence the Badenoch and Moray men of the same connection made a spoliatory incursion into Strathbogie, but Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun, who started in pursuit, at the head of three dozen horsemen, recovered much of the booty. The earl himself led a second expedition against the Mackintoshes and

Grants, and in the enthusiastic words of the family historian "wasted, burnt, and spoiled all the rebels' lands, killed divers of them, and then returned home with great booty, having fully subdued his enemies."[1]

The renewed activity of the powerful northern earl stimulated the Protestant party to take fresh measures against him, and at a Parliament specially summoned for the purpose at Edinburgh at the end of May 1594, the "Popish earls"—Huntly, Erroll, and Angus—were attainted. No active proceedings to give effect to this decree had been taken when James Gordon, Huntly's Jesuit uncle, and three strangers "suspect to be Papists and traffickers," who had landed from a French ship, were arrested and imprisoned by the magistrates of Aberdeen. Intimation was to be sent to the Government, but first there came a demand from Angus and Erroll for the release of the prisoners, and after the lapse of three days an ultimatum from Huntly, subscribed also by these earls and by Sir Patrick Gordon, declaring that unless the strangers were forthwith set at liberty the signatories of the ultimatum would instantly attack the town with fire and sword. This missive had the desired effect of procuring the release of the strangers.

Disliking the pressure put upon him by the more extreme men of the party in power in the south, the king was in no haste to give effect to the sentence against the earls, but at last he so far yielded as to issue a commission to the Earl of Argyll, Lord Forbes, and other Protestant chiefs to invade their territories and overthrow their power. Argyll, though young and inexperienced, was reluctant to accept the commission, but the prospect of acquiring the Gordon estates induced him to enter on what was manifestly a perilous enterprise. His own undisciplined warriors, as he proceeded into

[1] Sir R. Gordon, Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 217, 218.

Inverness-shire and down Strathspey, were reinforced by Mackintoshes and Grants and by a motley crowd of caterans armed with claymores and carrying sacks to hold the spoils of Strathbogie. Huntly's new castle of Ruthven in Badenoch was held by the MacPhersons, and the armed horde, said to have numbered seven or even ten thousand, finding that it offered resistance not likely to be soon overcome, hastened on towards richer lands. After quitting the Spey to ascend Glenlivet on the way to Aberdeenshire, the Highlanders were met (October 4, 1594) on the Allt-a-Coileachan burn by Huntly and Erroll at the head of 2000 men, many of them on horseback. The Forbeses, Frasers, Irvines, Leslies, Dunbars, and Ogilvies were preparing to unite their forces with those of Argyll, but Huntly, resolved if possible to prevent the junction of the Highlanders with his Lowland enemies, hastened westward to the Braes of Glenlivet. The Gordons had the advantages of discipline and superior arms, including six field-pieces which were nearly as paralysing if not as deadly to the Highlanders as the modern Maxim gun is to a militant African tribe. The composition of the force under Huntly and Erroll was similar to that of the army which the Earl of Mar commanded at Harlaw nearly two centuries before; the Highland host under Argyll was to a large extent of the same character as the Celtic multitude that accompanied Donald of the Isles; and the parallel is completed by the nature and results of the two battles. Argyll charged the Lowland force in repeated onsets, but was unable to break its compact array. From eleven till two o'clock the battle went on intermittently, and after an hour's interval it was renewed till nightfall, when, under cover of the darkness, the Highlanders took their departure, as their predecessors had done at Harlaw. In point of number Huntly's losses were insignificant, and the only notable man who fell on

his side was Sir Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun. Argyll lost MacLean of Mull, MacNeill of Barra, two of his Campbell cousins, and 500 rank and file.

Complete as was the victory of the "Popish earls" at Glenlivet, they were unable to follow it up, and when the king returned to the north they offered no resistance. Apart from pressure exercised through their immediate vassals they had little or no popular support. Huntly, who had owed not a little to the favour of the king, now lost credit by an incautious remark reported to his majesty, to the effect that the royal expedition against him was only a "gowk's storm," which would soon blow over, in which expectation he retired again to Caithness. The Duke of Lennox, who was Huntly's brother-in-law, was put in charge of the government of the north, and the result of a meeting which Huntly and Erroll had with him was that they agreed to leave the country for a time. Shortly afterwards Lennox handed over the management of the Huntly estates to his sister the countess. In the meantime the king had gone at the head of an armed force to Strathbogie, and had consented to the looting of the castle and then to the destruction of the great building itself. Other strongholds of the Roman Catholic notables were destroyed at the same time, including the houses of Slains, Abergeldie, and Newton.

So ended the last struggle in the north between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. The two earls who identified themselves with the ancient Church had gained a signal yet barren victory. The people of the two counties were no longer attached to the old faith: they had, in the main, joined the Protestants, or were indifferent. There were few among the greater lairds who had not participated in the spoils of the Church or had not followed the fashion by taking the side of the Reformation. The Roman Catholic

Church, indeed, had completely lost its hold upon all except a comparatively small minority.

On their return to Scotland in 1596 the two earls tried to make their peace with the Kirk, but their proposals met with the bitter opposition of the Melville party, and were at first rejected. By this time, however, James was bent on curbing the extreme Presbyterians: the pretensions of the Presbytery of Edinburgh were declared unlawful by the king and Council, and in May 1597 the General Assembly of Dundee, in which the extreme party were in a minority, decided on the removal of the sentence of excommunication. The reception of Huntly and Erroll into the Protestant Church took place in St Nicholas' Church, Aberdeen, in the following month, and was attended with a degree of ceremony befitting the acquisition of adherents so important. After a sermon by the bishop—for the episcopal system was in partial operation—the two earls made open confession of their defection and apostasy, affirmed the religion established in Scotland to be the only true religion, and "for ever renounced all Papistry." Huntly, moreover, confessed his offence to God, the king, the Kirk, and the country in the slaughter of the Earl of Moray, whereupon he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication. Thus the two earls became Protestants; they were received by the whole ministry present, as also by the commissioner for the king, and the proceedings of the day closed with a convivial gathering.[1]

In 1599 the Earl of Huntly was promoted by the king to the higher rank of marquis, and on James succeeding to the English throne he honoured the marquis with the duty of conveying the queen to London in his "comeliest manner."

[1] Maidment's Analecta Scotica, vol. i. pp. 299, 300; Records of Aboyne, p. 552.

The marquis and marchioness still hankering after the Church of Rome, Mr George Gladstanes, minister of St Andrews, was deputed to live with them so that they "might be informed in the word of truth." But the Reformation struggle was over, and the ecclesiastical conflicts were henceforth to be between different orders of Protestants.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SECOND UNIVERSITY AND THE WANDERING SCHOLARS — THE FIFTH EARL MARISCHAL — HIS EMBASSY TO DENMARK — THE KEITHS AND THE CHURCH REVENUES — THE RESPONSE IN ABERDEEN TO THE NEW DEMAND FOR EDUCATION — FUTILE ATTEMPTS TO REFORM THE OLDER UNIVERSITY — GRANT OF CHURCH LANDS TO THE EARL MARISCHAL — HIS FOUNDATION-CHARTER OF MARISCHAL COLLEGE — ORGANISATION AND EARLY OFFICERS — A UNIVERSITY AT FRASERBURGH — ABERDEEN PROFESSORS IN CONTINENTAL UNIVERSITIES — THE GRAMMAR-SCHOOL: CARGILL AND WEDDERBURN — ILLITERACY OF CRAFTSMEN — LACK OF SCHOOLS IN RURAL ABERDEENSHIRE — COUNTY FAMILIES AND THE GRAMMAR-SCHOOL: FIGHT FOR THE YULE HOLIDAYS — EDUCATION IN BANFF — THE WITCH MANIA: WITCH-BURNING IN ABERDEEN AND BANFF.

High in the list of public benefactors whose action had a permanent influence on the social or intellectual life of the two counties must be placed the fifth Earl Marischal. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the political leadership of the north-east, from which the house of Gordon had been ousted by Murray, was to a certain extent transferred, as we have seen, to that of Keith. The fourth Earl Marischal had gained much wealth by the practical disendowment of the Church—chiefly through other than legislative means. His grandson, the fifth earl, had been a student at King's College, and had passed on to France and to Geneva, where he had Beza for preceptor. Both Beza and Andrew Melville speak of him as a talented and accomplished student. After leaving

Switzerland he visited some of the European Courts, and returned to Scotland with scholarly attainments and a culture far above that generally possessed by the Scottish nobles of the time. Soon after his accession to the peerage, in 1581, report was made to the English Government that his revenue was greater than that of any other earl in Scotland—in this respect also he had taken the place formerly held by Huntly —and that he was "esteemed honest, religious, and favouring the best part." When King James, disappointed in his hopes of marrying the eldest daughter of the King of Denmark, resolved to send an embassy to woo her sister, he selected as its head the Earl Marischal's uncle, Lord Altrie, formerly Robert Keith, the second lay abbot or commendator of Deer, upon whom the abbey lands and revenues were conferred as a temporal lordship; but not being looked upon with cordiality by the Privy Council, Altrie declined the delicate mission. It was then intrusted to the earl himself, who had his Continental experiences and his wealth, accomplishments, and address to aid him in his task. There were difficulties and jealousies of many kinds to overcome or overbear, but the mission was carried out by the earl from his own resources in a style befitting its royal and national character. This mission was a great event in the north, and its successful accomplishment placed the Crown in the earl's debt and improved his political standing. Soon after his return he was rewarded with the high administrative office of Lieutenant of the North, in the exercise of which he consolidated the Protestant party, and had the chief hand in rendering nugatory the victory of Huntly and Erroll at Glenlivet and making further resistance on their part hopeless. His heavy outlay on the Denmark mission, in which he was accompanied by an ample retinue, was

to be reimbursed from the revenues of lands at the king's disposal.

When the Marischal estates were at their maximum, in the time of the fifth earl, it was said that he could travel from Berwick to Caithness and sleep every night on his own land. His properties ranged from Haddingtonshire and Linlithgowshire to Akergill, in Caithness; and in the north-east, besides Dunnottar, Durris, and others in Kincardine-shire, he had Skene, Kintore, Inverugie, and Altrie, in Aber-deenshire, Troup and Durn in Banff, and Duffus in Moray. Yet he did not hold his estates and revenues without chal-lenge. When, on the death of Lord Altrie, the Deer abbey lands passed to the earl, his younger brother, Robert Keith of Benholm, took forcible possession of the abbey, and held it for six weeks. The earl appealed for aid to the city of Aberdeen, of which he may be said to have been the social and political head, and where he had a mansion, of which, as the residence fittest for the entertainment of royalty, the provost and magistrates had obtained the use for the king when they had him as a guest. The appeal was not made in vain, for the city sent forty hagbutters to fight the earl's battle with his brother; and as Marischal obtained letters from the king charging his majesty's subjects in the sheriff-doms of Forfar, Kincardine, Aberdeen, and Banff to assist him, Keith retired to Fedderet in the same district, where, after a siege of three days, the brothers came to terms. Marischal did not press matters to an extremity, but two or three years later he had to take legal proceedings against his brother for seizing possession of the family estate in Caithness. Similar troubles broke out on other occasions, and it is clear that the younger members of the family were ill pleased at the concentration of all wealth and power in

the hands of the earl. Benholm bore the commendator's name of Robert Keith, and thought he should have succeeded to the Altrie lordship.

The holders of the abbey lands, first the commendator and then the earl, came under the censure of the Kirk for withholding revenues that should have gone to the "poor ministers," and in popular belief the appropriation of the Church revenues marked the beginning of a canker that ended in the destruction of the noble family of Keith. At this very time, indeed, according to the tradition of a later day, the countess, a daughter of the Earl of Home, endeavoured to dissuade her husband from "meddling with the Abbey of Deer," but "fourteen score chalders of meal and bere were a sore temptation," which he could not withstand. The tradition goes on to say that Lady Marischal had a strange vision of monks slowly picking with penknives at the Castle of Dunnottar until it was reduced to a wreck, its rich contents being cast on the waves of a tempestuous sea. The dream, which was put on record during the seventeenth century "Troubles,"[1] was held to be premonitory of the falling fortunes of the Keiths. Their grasping of the lion's share of the Church spoils exposed them to hostile feeling on the Protestant as well as the Roman Catholic side, and it is usual to connect with this state of matters the defiant motto which the fifth earl inscribed on a tower which he built on the abbey lands and on his college in Aberdeen—"They haif said: Quhat say thay? Lat thame say."

The history of the north-eastern counties is further differentiated from that of Scotland as a whole by the response

[1] Gordon's Short Abridgement of Britane's Distemper (*circ.* 1650), pp. 112-114.

that was made in Aberdeen to the demand that arose at the Reformation for the better education of all classes. In the latter part of the sixteenth century this demand proceeded on the one hand from the leaders of the Protestant Church who had their quarrel with the greater landlords, by whom the ecclesiastical endowments had been appropriated, and on the other from the county families and wealthier burgesses, who had become alive to the value of education as a passport to employment and distinction under the new conditions. The foundation of Marischal College, though secondary in importance to that of the elder university, nevertheless marks a new stage in the intellectual development and character of these counties. It must be regarded, however, as a response to a pre-existing demand, and as only serving in its degree to give force and direction to a movement already in progress. The partial reform of King's College under Arbuthnot left it in a condition satisfactory to none of the parties in Church or State. Andrew Melville, by whom the mantle of Knox had been inherited, was the great university reformer of the time, and shortly after he had assumed the principalship of Glasgow he accompanied Principal Arbuthnot from the General Assembly of 1575 to the district of their common nativity north of the Tay, discussing the university question, and settling the principles embodied afterwards in the scheme of reform known as the New Foundation. Commission after commission was appointed, without leading to effective reform. One, in 1578, recommended measures for restoring the "dilapidated" funds of King's College, and another formulated a scheme. As royal commissioners, Earl Marischal, the Commendator of Deer, and others asked the General Assembly to "visit" the college and "depute some persons to take trial of the members thereof that they be qualified to conform to the

new erection." In response to this request the Assembly appointed a committee, including James Lawson, who had been sub-principal under Arbuthnot until recalled to Edinburgh as successor to Knox, to consider the proceedings of the commissioners. The current was running counter to the Presbyterian party at the time, and nothing having been done by this committee, partly by reason of its negligence, according to Calderwood, and partly through the Aberdeen regents ignoring it, another committee was nominated, before whom the sub-principal (Rait) and the regents were to be summoned by Mr Peter Blackburn, minister of Aberdeen, to appear at St Andrews "under pain of disobedience to the Kirk." The Presbyterian party was dissatisfied with the college, and mention is made of "the hazard of scholars skailing to St Andrews," which was now dominated by Melville; but the king was opposed to the "new erection." Lennox and Arran, now in power, were equally opposed to the Presbyterian party and polity. Assemblies ceased for a time to be held, and nothing was done. Another drowsy commission was appointed in 1584, in which Marischal, who was engaged on such affairs of State as the Gowrie trial, the measures against the Catholics, and the embassy to Denmark, had no part. It was in the autumn of 1592, the year of his appointment as lord-lieutenant, that he received his charter of the lands and barony of Altrie, including the lands formerly belonging to the Monastery of Deer, as also the Templar lands of Dunnottar and Fetteresso, and other properties in Kincardineshire, with a long list of crofts and annuals that had belonged to the Black and White Friars in Aberdeen, all resigned by him for new infeftment. University reform, in which he had been keenly interested ever since his college days, continued to lag and slumber.

Marischal being now in power and having ample means at

his disposal, resolved to found and endow a new university (the terms Gymnasium, Academia, and Collegium are also used in his foundation-charter) in accordance with the principles and scheme which he had recommended to the Church and Government. The charter, which is dated April 2, 1593—six months after the grant of the Friars' and other lands—sets forth, though not in the terms that were applicable to the state of education in Bishop Elphinstone's time, that in many places in the north of Scotland the means for obtaining a liberal and Christian education either did not exist or were neglected, so that few "have been trained in the humane arts, through whose exertions and zeal the Church might flourish, the country become illustrious, and the commonwealth be more and more enlarged," wherefore, following the example of kings, princes, nobles, and bishops who had erected colleges "to be abodes sacred to the Muses and, as it were, nurseries where young men might receive a godly and liberal education in letters and in arts," he desired to found in Aberdeen "a public Gymnasium in the buildings formerly belonging to the Franciscans (the transference of which to this use seemed most opportune and convenient) where young men might be thoroughly trained and instructed in the humane arts, philosophy, and a purer piety, under the charge of competent and learned teachers."[1] Besides the buildings of the Franciscans the properties formerly belonging to the Preaching and Carmelite Friars in Aberdeen were given in perpetuity as an endowment for the new college, and the charter lays down rules for the appointment of officers, prescribes the curriculum and method of graduation, forbids the residence of women within the walls, and provides for the maintenance of discipline and for periodical visitations by the Chancellor, the Rector, and the Dean of Faculty. The curriculum is

[1] Records of Marischal College and University, vol. i. pp. 61, 62.

almost identical with that set forth in the foundation of Edinburgh University and in Melville's schemes of reform for the other colleges, but Marischal College had the priority in professors who confined themselves to particular branches, so that, in the language of the charter, the students rising step by step might have teachers worthy of their talents and of the subjects of study. This method, however, was after a time departed from in favour of the alternative system of regents, each of whom taught the same students for three or four years in all the branches. In regard to discipline the most distinctive provision is one designed to checkmate "the cunning of Satan" in endeavouring "to lead away youth from the profession of the Gospel back to the darkness of Popery," and requiring that before the Principal at entrance, before the Rector at matriculation, and before the Dean of Faculty at graduation, and once at least every year, the student should profess acceptance of the Confession of Faith. Marischal College was thus to be a strictly Protestant institution. It began with a Faculty of Arts alone, and with three regents as compared with the four at King's College, with six bursars as against twelve, with a lower scale of emoluments, and with greatly inferior buildings. To obviate risks which had been made manifest by what had occurred at King's College, the earl, who was Chancellor of his university, retained in his own hands and for his heirs the power of nominating all its members, but the admission of professors was to be in the hands of the Chancellor, Rector, and Dean, the Principal of King's College, and the Ministers of Aberdeen, Fetteresso, and Deer —the Principal to have a vote in the election of Regents and the three Regents a single vote in the election of Principal. The charter was immediately approved and confirmed by the General Assembly and by Parliament, and the town, which took an active interest in the scheme, repurchased and

conveyed to the earl for the purpose of his university the Franciscan buildings and lands which it had previously sold. Among several entries in the town's accounts with reference to the foundation of Marischal College is an item of £80 for the expenses of the bishop, minister, and town clerk in going to Edinburgh on business connected with it, and one of £3 for printing Latin verses by Thomas Cargill "in commendation of my Lord Marischal for erecting the new college in Aberdeen."

The first Principal was Robert Howie, one of the city ministers, and on his removal to St Andrews as Principal of St Mary's College, after Melville, he was succeeded by Gilbert Gray, one of the earliest alumni of Edinburgh. Andrew Aedie, who had resided in Danzig and was a member of a prominent Aberdeen family engaged in the Polish trade now rising in importance, was third Principal, his immediate successor for a short time being William Forbes, who had been a professor in the college and was afterwards first Bishop of Edinburgh. Dr Patrick Dun, who came after Forbes, was the first lay Principal, and though, according to the severe standard of his Puritan and Quaker son-in-law, Alexander Jaffray, he was "unfit for training up youths" and gave "no good example," his name stands out in Aberdeen history as that of the benefactor who bequeathed "the town and lands of Ferryhill" to the provost, magistrates, and community for the maintenance of four teachers at the grammar-school. The early regents or professors were often, perhaps usually, young men who had recently graduated, and many of whom retired from their work in the college to become parish ministers. Among them was Thomas Reid, afterwards Latin Secretary to King James, and Adam Reid his brother, who was promoted from the regency to be minister of Methlic, William Forbes and Patrick Dun afterwards Principals, Peter Black-

burn son of the bishop, William Wedderburn brother of the better known David Wedderburn, master of the grammar-school, and William Aedie who succeeded Wedderburn in the professorship of Greek. As Marischal College throve, a fourth regent was soon provided for, and benefactions poured in—6000 merks from Dr Duncan Liddel[1] for the professorship of mathematics, with the lands of Pitmedden for bursaries, as also his books and mathematical instruments; 4000 merks from Dr James Cargill for bursaries; 6000 from Patrick Copland for a professorship of divinity, and the same sum from Secretary Reid for a librarian, together with his valuable library. These are examples of the many benefactions that augmented the efficiency of the younger college as years went on; and it prospered likewise in reputation and the number of its students. King's College at last obtained its reformed constitution in 1597, but the cloud overshadowing it did not yet disappear. David Rait, who served half a century as regent, sub-principal, and principal, holding the last-mentioned office from 1592 to 1632, seems to have been an obstacle to the adaptation of the college to the spirit and requirements of the time. Marischal College had the support of the zealous Protestant party, and it prospered all the more by reason of the lethargy at King's.

Of the zeal for higher education prevailing at this period, we have a singular illustration in the erection and temporary existence of a legally constituted university at the little seaport of Faithlie, beside the headland of the ancient Taixali. In 1592 Sir Alexander Fraser obtained a charter of novodamus of the lands of Philorth, by which Faithlie was erected into a burgh of barony to be called the burgh and port of Fraser or Fraserburgh, power being granted to build in it a college or colleges and to establish a university having all the

[1] *Infra*, p. 192.

privileges and immunities granted to any university in the kingdom. The powers thus conferred were immediately brought into exercise, and an Act of Parliament of 1597 recites that Sir Alexander Fraser, having at great expense begun to erect college buildings, ought to be helped and supported in his undertaking, and gives the sanction of the king and three Estates to a grant to the college of the parsonages, vicarages, prebendaries, chaplainries, altarages, teinds, and other ecclesiastical revenues of the parishes of Philorth, Tyrie, Crimond, and Rathen, on condition that the masters of the college should serve the kirks or, with advice of the patron, provide sufficient men for this purpose. Charles Ferme or Fairholme, who had been one of the earliest students in the University of Edinburgh, and soon after his graduation had become a regent there, was appointed minister of Fraserburgh and head of its college. For colleagues, under the Act of Parliament, he had John Gordon, minister of Crimond, son of the Laird of Lesmoir; Duncan Davidson, minister of Rathen and previously a regent in King's College; and John Howesoun, minister of Tyrie. There is no specific record of how the work of the college proceeded, and it came to an untimely end in 1605, when the Principal and seventeen other zealous Presbyterian ministers were denounced and imprisoned by the Privy Council for holding the forbidden Assembly in Aberdeen. Ferme survived his liberation till 1617, but of the college there is no further record except that a portion of the buildings remained standing for 200 years, a memorial of the educational zeal of a former day. The University of Fraserburgh, framed on the same model as Marischal College and the "new foundation" of King's, but without their resources, could have few attractions to offer to students from a distance.

While, however, the foundation of the second university in

Aberdeen must be regarded as a cardinal event in the intellectual history of the north-east of Scotland, an examination of facts and dates makes it clear that before Marischal College came into existence, and while the facilities for general education even in its elementary stages were still very meagre, these counties were recruiting the ranks of learning to an extent that must be regarded as remarkable and perhaps unique. The Aberdeen scholars, who are conspicuous by the eminence of a few of them, and still more by their numbers, belong almost exclusively at this period to the ranks of the comparatively wealthy, including some notable accessions from among the burgesses. The starting of the second university has accordingly to be viewed as a response to a pre-existing demand for education, and not as the cause of this intellectual activity.

It was just before the time of King James that John Skene, a son of James Skene of Wester Corse and Ramore, incurred punishment at the Song-School along with a Lumsden (of Cushnie) cousin, and fought in the interest of the master of the grammar-school in a quarrel at St Nicholas' Church. A student of King's College when it was at its lowest ebb, and a graduate of St Andrews, he became for a time a regent in St Mary's College, and travelled in the Scandinavian countries and Eastern Europe, where he saw at Cracow "a great multitude of Scotchmen." Next he appears as a successful advocate in Edinburgh, and ultimately as Lord Advocate and Clerk Register. King James demurred to his being appointed a member of the Earl Marischal's embassy to Denmark, but gave in to Sir James Balfour's irresistible argument "that he was best acquainted with the conditions of the Germans and could make them long harangues in Latin," and was a "good, true, stout man like a Dutchman." Skene was also ambassador to

the States-General, and one of the commissioners for the projected union of the kingdoms in the wake of the union of the Crowns. His literary works are still of importance in relation to the history of Scotland. "He was the first," says Dr Hill Burton,[1] "in any systematic way to collect the Acts of Parliament and other native laws of his own country"; and his treatise, 'De Verborum Significatione,' is described by Dr W. F. Skene[2] "as a most useful work, invaluable to the student of ancient Scottish history, and a monument of his learning and industry." Skene had several brothers who were men of learning and distinction. One was commissary of St Andrews and Dean of the Faculty of Arts; a second was an alumnus of Paris and advocate in Edinburgh; a third, Dr Gilbert Skene, was professor of medicine in King's College, author of a tract on the plague, and in the latter part of his career settled in Edinburgh and was physician to the king. Sir John Skene's son was President of the Court of Session. In former days all learning had been concentrated in the Church, but new avenues to professional employment were opened up when the practice of law and medicine passed into secular hands. The Skenes were numerous, and many of them entered the learned professions, while others went into the trade with Poland, in which Aberdeen for more than a century took an active part.

Another eminent Aberdeenshire lawyer and writer on jurisprudence was William Barclay, professor of civil law at Pont-à-Mousson and Angers, reputedly one of the most learned men of the age. Another William Barclay, a brother of the Laird of Towie-Barclay, born about 1570, studied under Lipsius at Louvain, was Professor of Humanity at

[1] Scot Abroad, vol. ii. p. 110.

[2] Memorials of the Family of Skene, p. 109.

Paris, returned to Scotland as a physician, and wrote, besides Latin verse, a panegyric on tobacco, and two poetical pieces, 'Callirhoe, commonly called the Well of Spa, or the Nymphe of Aberdene resuscitat,' and 'Apobaterium, or Last Farewell to Aberdene'—on the occasion of his return to France to settle at Nantes.

In the galaxy of Aberdeen scholars the brightest star is Dr Arthur Johnston. A younger son of the head of the old Aberdeenshire landed family of Johnston of Caskieben, and related through his mother to Lord Forbes and the Earl Marischal, he acquired the rudiments of Latin at Kintore, passed into Aberdeen, and in 1599 is found entered as a Master of Arts in the books of the Casimir College of Heidelberg, at which seat of learning he was in 1601 a professor of philosophy.[1] Proceeding to Sedan in 1603 with Walter Donaldson, who had been his fellow-student and teaching colleague at Heidelberg, Johnston was for a few years professor of logic and metaphysics there, and on the promotion of Donaldson to the principalship succeeded him in the chair of physics. An excursion to Padua, where he received the degree of doctor of medicine, formed an interlude in his Sedan career, which latterly was enlivened by the presence of Andrew Melville, the exiled Presbyterian leader, whose release from the Tower of London in 1611 on the solicitation of the Huguenot Duke of Bouillon, the founder and patron of the University of Sedan, may have been really due to the two Aberdonians with whom he became associated as a colleague in the closing years of his eventful life. Johnston had returned

[1] Johnston's Heidelberg connection is a discovery by Principal Sir William D. Geddes, under whose editorship a complete edition of his secular poems, with biography and notes, has lately been issued—'Musa Latina Aberdonensis,' vols. i. and ii., New Spalding Club, 1892-95.

to Aberdeen by 1622, when he received the freedom of the city as an honorary burgess; but in his later years, while his family resided in Aberdeen, much of his time was spent in London, where he attended King James as physician, held the appointment of physician-in-ordinary to Charles I., and took his place among the fashionable and learned society of the time. Before he left Sedan his fame as a Latin poet had spread through all the learned world. His version of the Psalms in Latin verse—undertaken, it is said, at the instance of Archbishop Laud—was extolled to the undue disparagement of that of Buchanan, who was the victim of many antipathies. Controversy on the respective merits of the two versions had been raging for a century before it evoked the famous 'Vindication' of Buchanan by Thomas Ruddiman, the eighteenth century Latinist and critic, himself among the most notable products of north-eastern scholarship. To the 'Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum'—a brilliant collection of Scoto-Latin song, published in two volumes by Blaeu of Amsterdam for Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet—Johnston was the most extensive contributor. His younger brother, Dr William Johnston, was also a professor at Sedan, and afterwards first occupant of the chair of mathematics in Marischal College. Of the Crimond branch of the same family, and of a slightly older generation, was Professor John Johnston of King's College, Helmstadt, and Geneva, and colleague of Melville at St Andrews. Robert Gordon of Straloch, geographer, antiquary, and poet, is said to have been the first graduate of Marischal College (1597), his chief work, belonging to a late period of his life, being the Atlas—partly from his own surveys—published by Blaeu of Amsterdam at the instance of Scot, and including the map of the two counties which, as collated by Dr Joseph Robertson with other drawings by Gordon and his son the parson of Rothiemay,

is a historically valuable delineation of the two counties. Along with his map Gordon contributed in Latin a 'Description of the Sheriffdoms of Aberdeen and Banff,' at once vivid and exact.[1]

Several of the wandering Aberdeen scholars were zealous Roman Catholics, and did their best to lead a reaction against the ecclesiastical revolution. Some of these we have already met with. James Gordon, son of one Earl of Huntly and brother of another, taught languages and divinity in Rome, Paris, and Bordeaux. Another James Gordon, distinguished as "Lesmoræus," was Principal of the Jesuit Colleges of Toulouse and Bordeaux. George Con, of the family of Con of Auchry, in Buchan, was a scholar and author as well as Catholic "trafficker," and died suddenly when he was about to receive a cardinal's hat. Fathers Tyrie and Hay, likewise sons of Aberdeenshire county families, were Jesuit controversialists of similar mould. Another Jesuit, Thomas Dempster, the very type of wandering scholar, made his start at Aberdeen, took Cambridge by the way, and was a teacher successively in a dozen different colleges of France, Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, and the author of various controversial and historical works, the latter tinged with inventive imagination.

From the burgess ranks came Dr Walter Donaldson, friend and colleague of Arthur Johnston, lecturer on moral philosophy at Heidelberg, professor at Sedan, and Principal of the university there. Gilbert Jack, another product of the city, an orphan committed by his mother to the care of Thomas Cargill, master of the Grammar-School, but a student of St Andrews, passed to the Continent, studied and lectured on philosophy at Helmstadt and elsewhere, and was professor of metaphysics at Leyden, where he graduated in medicine: he

[1] In Collections for a History of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff, Spalding Club.

wrote several medical treatises, attained wide fame among the scholars of the time, and declined an invitation to fill the chair of civil history at Oxford. Alexander Anderson, the eminent mathematician and physicist of Paris, was of an Aberdeen burgess family; and Dr Duncan Liddel, also a burgess's son, may be regarded as another typical Aberdeen scholar. Born in 1561, and educated at King's College, Liddel sailed at eighteen in one of the Aberdeen ships trading to Danzig, and passed to Frankfort-on-Oder, where he came under the influence of Dr John Craig, afterwards physician to James VI., studied medicine, and taught mathematics and philosophy. From Frankfort he passed on to Rostock and Helmstadt. Devoting special attention to astronomy, then a very progressive science, he lectured on the various theories, and made the acquaintance and incurred the disfavour of Tycho Brahe. At Helmstadt he headed the medical school, and was first physician to the Court of Brunswick. After his continental experience, which included travel in various countries, Liddel returned to Aberdeen, and became one of the great benefactors of its higher education.

The teacher of all the Aberdonians who attained distinction in the last two decades of the sixteenth century was Thomas Cargill, master of the grammar-school, who with his brother Dr James Cargill, a medical practitioner of local celebrity, was a son of Thomas Cargill, "merchant burgess of Aberdeen." Cargill's successor, who had been one of his pupils, was David Wedderburn, also the son of a burgess. Arthur Johnston in one of his poems, after enumerating certain of the citizen families, introduces the ranks of learning associated with citizenship by asking "Why refer to you, O Liddel! or the Cargill brothers, or Wedderburn, a match for both?"[1] As a writer of Latin verse Wedderburn is second

[1] Musa, &c., vol. i. p. 129.

only to Johnston. Though a successful teacher, he had to apply for an increase of stipend to enable him to "live in some measure as other scholars in other professions," and part of the duties of his office under the arrangement then come to was to "compose in Latin, both in prose and verse," as required by the authorities in connection with public affairs. Besides being a contributor to the 'Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum,' he was, like Vaus, his predecessor of a century before, the author of a Latin Grammar, and the town council on several occasions voted him sums of money to defray his expenses in going to Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Glasgow to oppose a renewal of the monopoly in favour of Alexander Hume's grammar, and to procure the approbation of the Council and Church for his own work. The Hume monopoly was similarly objected to in Glasgow. Wedderburn's elementary grammar in English was an innovation that became immediately popular, and though Parliament refused it the monopoly, the Convention of Royal Burghs requested that it should be used in the burgh schools. Humanity was taught by Wedderburn to the "high class" of Marischal College on the death of Principal Gray, and for a short time he held the appointment of Grammarian or Humanist at King's College; but these university appointments were not permanently compatible with his onerous duties as head of the school. After forty years' service the town council granted him a retiring pension of 200 merks a-year, in respect that he had served the burgh so long "with common applause both of the council and community."

But while the rise of Marischal College was a response to the growing demand for education, and education in its intermediate stage was efficiently attended to at the grammar-school, much still remained to be done at the lower steps of the educational ladder. Nowhere indeed till after several generations had come and gone was full effect given to the famous

recommendation of the First Book of Discipline, drawn up by Knox in 1560, and subscribed by the lords and the Kirk, that there should be a schoolmaster able at least to teach the grammar and Latin tongue in every parish of any importance, and that in rural parishes the reader or minister should take care of the youth of the parish, and see to its elementary and religious instruction. In 1563, as again in 1577, the General Assembly appointed a commission for planting schools in Banffshire and other northern counties, but complaints of the neglect of education from lack of sufficient provision for the support of a qualified schoolmaster long continued to be made.

The grasping policy of the nobles and gentry obstructed the execution of the great design formulated by Knox, and, in a typical district of central Aberdeenshire a century after these dates, more than half the parishes in the Presbytery of Alford were still without a school.[1] From the complaints of the General Assembly as to the decay of schools and the neglect of education, especially in upland parts, no exception can be claimed on behalf of these counties, and even in what may be called the middle class the art of writing was not generally possessed. Surprise is indeed excited by the number of written contracts of this period that are signed by the new class of notaries-public on behalf of the parties to the agreement. Not only is this seen in such cases as that of a contract of multures between John Leslie of Wardes and the town of Inverurie in 1600, where fifteen out of sixteen burgesses sign "with our hands at the pen led by the notary because we cannot write ourselves"; but even in Aberdeen the same inability to write is evidenced in a document of much importance in the history of the municipality, namely, the decree arbitral, or "Common Indenture," by which in

[1] Exercise of Alford (New Spalding Club), p. xliii.

1587 the settlement was reached of a prolonged conflict between the town council and the craft burgesses. This deed, which fixed the terms on which craftsmen were to be admitted, defined their trading privileges and those of the merchant burgesses respectively, and provided that the craftsmen should have representatives among the auditors of the town's accounts, was signed by the craftsmen representatives according to the usual formula, "with our hands at the pen led by the notaries." The art of writing, it therefore appears, was not generally possessed even in Aberdeen by the employers of artisan labour at this period.[1] The notaries who played so useful a part in the execution of deeds were numerous all over the country, finding employment not only in towns and populous places but in rural districts without any nucleus of population. They performed a service to the public which in earlier times had been discharged by the clergy, and their art was much in request now that the era of loans and wadsets was in progress, while penmanship was still an accomplishment of the few.

The master of the Grammar-School exercised control over all elementary and intermediate teaching except that imparted at the music-school. In 1586, on the complaint of Cargill,

[1] Shortly after this settlement had been effected the burgesses rebelled against the practical monopoly of the government of the town by members and nominees of the Menzies family, which had continued for the greater part of a century. The question was first agitated before the Convention of Burghs which met in Aberdeen in 1590, on a representation that the provost had not been duly elected; it was carried before the Lords of Session; and it led to disturbance and bloodshed at the annual election of 1592. An arbitration by four Lords of Session, four clergymen, and four burgesses of Guild of Edinburgh, presided over by the king, resulted in an award in favour of the reforming party. The Guild were to have thirty-one votes in the election of office-bearers and the Trades ten, and the latter were to elect two craftsmen as members of the town council. These arrangements determined the constitution of the governing body of Aberdeen till the passing of the Burgh Reform Act in 1833.

John Cumming, a notary, was prohibited from holding a school and abstracting children from the principal school without the master's licence and tolerance; and in 1594 David Kanzie was similarly prevented from giving instruction in "oratory poetry, and sic as belangis to that liberal science." Such restrictions were not peculiar to the north-east, but were generally imposed in favour of the burgh schools of Scotland. They were put in force in Aberdeen, partly, as would appear, to save the interests of the master of the Grammar-School, who was ill remunerated, and whom we find at different times applying for augmentation of fees or of stipend. The authorities did not always turn a deaf ear to the demands made upon them. Thus in 1583 John Phinevin, "teacher of the young children," applied for a schoolroom or money to pay the rent of one, and the Dean of Guild was ordered to give him the yearly feu-duty of a derelict property in the Schoolhill. We even hear of some little provision being made for the education of girls, as John Thomson and his wife, with another female teacher, are in 1598 authorised to teach "maiden bairns," but "to have no man teacher under them." In the autumn of 1607 an Englishman named Edward Diggens arrived in Aberdeen, with testimonials from Glasgow, Dumfries, and other places, and applied for a licence to teach writing and arithmetic for three months, the poor to be taught gratuitously, and no one to pay "except they be profited." The offer was accepted, but only on the grudging condition of the teaching being strictly limited to writing and arithmetic, and that the scholars exceed the age of ten years. In 1612 there was a writing-school, having for its master Gilbert Leslie, who also held the ecclesiastical office of "reader"; and in 1625 an "English school" was included with the grammar-school and the music-school in a visitation appointed by the town council.

In rural Aberdeenshire some of the readers may have been efficient and zealous teachers of youth. Dr Arthur Johnston records that it was at Kintore that he became a nurseling of the muses and learned as a stripling to speak Latin words. This must have been about the beginning of the tenth decade of the sixteenth century, when John Chalmers was reader at Kintore. Johnston's brother, John Johnston of Caskieben (now Keithhall), as senior magistrate of Inverurie, was instrumental with his two colleagues in the magistracy, members of the family of Leslie, in establishing a grammar-school on the basis of the "common good" of the township, but on the appointment of the second teacher in the following year it became a parochial as well as burgh school. Generally speaking, no provision whatever existed in rural parts for higher instruction. This was provided at the Grammar-School in Aberdeen, the master of which received a fixed quarterly fee for teaching the sons of burgesses, but was allowed to make his own terms or charge a higher fee for boys from the county.[1] That the Grammar-School drew a large number of its scholars from the landed families of Aberdeenshire comes prominently into view in connection with a long struggle for the immemorial Christmas holidays. To the stand made by the new clergy at the Reformation against observance of "the superstitious time of Yule" the boys never gave in, and year by year, with swords and even firearms, they continued to "take" the school and hold it as if against a siege—a process known in the English schools of a much later day as "barring out." The rebellion became an annual event, and the impatience of youth led occasionally to its breaking out days or even weeks before Christmas. An insurrection of more than ordinary magnitude occurred at the beginning of December 1612, in which the boys of

[1] Burgh Records, Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. 224.

the song-school and writing-school were associated with those of the grammar-school, and it is of some historical importance as preserving the names and parentage of a number of the youths receiving education in Aberdeen. The insurgents took possession of the song-school and held it for two days, until the town council, after consultation with the bishop and city ministers, ordered the ringleaders to be apprehended by force. Twenty-one of the scholars were brought before the magistrates, only one of them being the son of a burgess. The others were sons of country gentlemen of the families of Gordon (Lesmoir, Cluny, and Tillygreig), Irvine, Innes, Forbes, Cumming (Culter), Johnston, Chalmer (Balnacraig), Seton, Fraser, Meldrum, Ogilvie, Norie, Cruickshank, and Farquharson (Invercauld). Country families, it thus appears, were numerously represented among the pupils of David Wedderburn. The handicraftsmen of the time, as we have seen, were generally unable to write, but the merchant burgesses could not carry on their transactions without some knowledge of letters and arithmetic, and here we have evidence of a general demand for education among the ruling classes in the country. One son of a craftsman who had been at the school a few years before was William Guild, afterwards principal of the older university, and son of the Matthew Guild, armourer, who rebelled against the attempted suppression of the time-honoured pageants and processions.

In Banff there was a grammar-school in pre-Reformation days, but of the part which it played in northern education prior to about the end of the first quarter of the seventeenth century there is no definite record. Its master is found from time to time acting as a notary or witness to legal documents. A new departure took place in 1585, when there is a charter of Bishop Cunningham providing anew that a grammar-school be established and continued in the

burgh of Banff, with a rector, pious and moral and skilled in the Greek and Latin tongues: his presentation was to rest with the town council, and his collation with the Bishop of Aberdeen. By this charter the bishop set apart tithes to the value of about £45 Scots for his salary.

But it is to Aberdeen that we must look as almost exclusively the seat and source of the education that made the north-east so potent a factor in the thought and action of the new age; and yet even at this very time when the northern city was providing itself with its second university, and sending its scholars all over Europe, we are confronted in its local annals by one of the pages least creditable to the shrewdness and common-sense of its ruling class. For once the Aberdonians responded too readily to southern example and leading. While martyrdom for conscience' sake is unknown in the history of Aberdeen, the records of the city are unhappily stained by a number of executions for the imaginary crime of witchcraft. The zeal of James VI. against witches infected the ministers and local authorities in different parts of Scotland, and there were numerous accusations, trials, and burnings, chiefly of hysterical and eccentric women, for supposed "sorcery, enchantment, and devilish practices." The witch mania, which had been rampant in the south and west of Scotland, manifested itself in Aberdeen in the closing years of the sixteenth century. In 1597 no fewer than twenty-four of its victims were burned to death in the city—a dismal passage in the local retrospect, though it has to be read in the light of the fact that the alleged witches put to death in Scotland from first to last number about 4000, and that witch-burning was a folly of the time in which many countries were concerned. Under commissions from the king, the sheriffs, provost, and baillies of Aberdeen issued orders to the ministers and elders to give information

as to any suspected persons in their parishes. A few of the ministers and sessions answered to the call with lists of names. The minister of Lumphanan gave up seven of his parishioners, and the parson of Kincardine four. In Cromar, and in Dyce and Fintray, the kirk-sessions met and resolved to transmit names; but as regards the greater part of Aberdeenshire there is no record of action by ministers or sessions. The supposed witches were accused of raising storms, stopping mills, making cows cease to give milk, afflicting with illness persons who had offended them, assuming the shape of four-footed animals, and taking part in a midnight devils' dance at the market-cross of Aberdeen. In the Dean of Guild's accounts there are particulars of the outlays on different kinds of fuel for the executions, the executioner's fees, the "trailing" through the streets of one poor victim who had committed suicide in prison, and the burning on the cheek of four suspected witches who were banished. The Dean himself received a vote of thanks and of money for the "extraordinary pains" he had taken "on the burning of the great number of witches burnt this year," and for other services. The mania ran its course and became discredited, but occasional executions for witchcraft continued through the seventeenth century, and even so enlightened a man as Bishop Patrick Forbes favoured the extermination of witches by violent means. In 1630 the town council resolved to apply to the Lords of the Privy Council for a commission for apprehending some women denounced by a Marion Hardie; and the Guild accounts of rather earlier date contain items "for a barrow to carry the cripple witches," "disbursed for entertaining the witches," for writing the "dittays" against them, and for the clerk to a previous commission. "Scourgers to bury the witch" receive remuneration, and there is a payment for "towis to harle her throw the town." At Banff,

about the same period, John Philp was burned to death for the crime of witchcraft. Questions of witchcraft, sorcery, and charming long continued to exercise the ecclesiastical authorities, but the crop of witches was henceforth more abundant in other parts of Scotland than in Aberdeenshire, where their repression at the stake had fallen into desuetude long before the last Scottish burning for this crime, which took place at Dornoch in 1722. In the early years of the seventeenth century—as if in revulsion from the mania—several persons were subjected to discipline by the kirk-session of Aberdeen for accusing their neighbours of witchcraft.

CHAPTER IX.

THE AGE OF CASTLE-BUILDING AND EPISCOPALIAN CULTURE—ADVANCE OF WEALTH AND TASTE — THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CASTLES AND MANSIONS AND THEIR BUILDERS — GEORGE JAMESONE, "THE SCOTTISH VANDYCK" — DESCRIPTION OF THE CITY OF ABERDEEN — THE DARKER SIDE OF THE PICTURE — POVERTY AND MENDICANCY — CATERAN IRRUPTIONS—TUMULTS OF "CLANNIT MEN"—THE BURNING OF FRENDRAUGHT—THE PROHIBITED GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF ABERDEEN—REVIVAL AND REIGN OF EPISCOPACY—BRILLIANT EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP PATRICK FORBES: CHURCH ORGANISER AND PATRON OF LEARNING — FORBES AND THE UNIVERSITIES — "THE ABERDEEN DOCTORS"—RABAN THE FIRST ABERDEEN PRINTER—DEATH OF BISHOP FORBES.

With the accession of James to the English throne the prospect of national tranquillity became much surer than it had been at any time since the days of the Alexanders, and a marked advance was taking place in civilisation and taste. The reign of James VI. is noted as the era of a new order of castle-building. The old houses of the country gentlemen were not suited to an age in which peace and security were rendering possible a greater accumulation of wealth than had hitherto been known. Since the introduction of artillery the old faith in the utility of the feudal fortresses had been shaken, but castellated architecture had a longer life in Scotland than in England, and all through the seventeenth century the northern castle-building was a picturesque combination of the old and new ideas.

One of the most famous of the Scottish castles of James's time is that of Fyvie, built by the latest but not least of the Aberdeenshire notables of that time, Alexander Seton, President of the Court of Session and Chancellor of Scotland. Seton, who had been a student of theology in Rome but at the Reformation had abandoned theology for law, and at different times was known as Prior of Pluscarden, Lord Urquhart, Lord Fyvie, and Earl of Dunfermline, purchased the estate of Fyvie in 1596 from the Meldrums, its former possessors, and immediately proceeded to supplement its Preston and Meldrum Towers with a noble residence, designed, it is believed, by a French architect, and distinguished by a splendour of style and fineness of conception that give it a place among the brightest examples of the domestic architecture of the period. Another of the north-eastern castle-builders was the Marquis of Huntly, who, though occasionally harassed by the stress of public affairs, found time to carry out great improvements on his estates, as in planting the moors with timber trees, and who added by purchase to his territories the lands of Strathaven, Auchindoun, and Blackwater, in Banffshire, and Melgum in Angus, as well as certain possessions in Cromar. He restored the house of Strathbogie which had been destroyed after the battle of Glenlivet, added to the castles of Bog of Gight (Gordon Castle) and Aboyne, and built new houses in Badenoch, at Plewlands in Moray, and Cean-na-Coil on Deeside, which as his occasional residence took the place of the Peel of Kinnord. It is on record that Cean-na-Coil (or "Kandychyle") was built by skilled workmen brought from Huntly, where they had been engaged on the restoration of the castle and in building a bridge. Earl Marischal's part in constructive enterprise was seen in his stately mansion of Inverugie and in the Peterhead harbour; Sir Alexander Fraser, the other college-founder, built

the castle at Kinnaird Head; and the Earl of Erroll, whose seat had been demolished at the same time as that of Huntly, provided himself with a new and better residence. Castle Fraser, the Deeside houses of Drum and Crathes, and Midmar Castle on the north-east slope of the Hill of Fare, are other significant examples of the transition to a higher standard of taste and culture.

A typical Aberdeenshire man of the time was William Forbes, a successful merchant in the Danzig trade, who purchased from the decayed family of Mortimer, or its creditors, the estate of Craigievar, adjacent to his elder brother's domain of Corse, and made other extensive acquisitions of land—namely, the estates of Fintray and Menie, and properties in Forfarshire, Fife, and East Lothian. The Castle of Craigievar, begun by the Mortimers, was for the most part built by Forbes. Other Aberdeenshire men were returning from abroad with money—Skenes and Aedies from Poland, Duncan Liddel from his German seats of learning, and other physicians from other places. Besides the older trade with the Continent, Aberdeen merchants were now engaged in a growing commercial intercourse with England. One result of all this was a large accession of wealth in the two counties, another was an accentuation of the demand for better houses and more luxurious furnishings.

Scotland at this period produced one considerable painter, the Aberdonian George Jamesone, "the Scottish Vandyck." After improving his artistic powers as a pupil of Rubens at Antwerp, Jamesone returned to Aberdeen in 1620, where he flourished amid the brilliant group of cultured men in Church and University then gathered together in the city. His fame as a portrait-painter led to his being summoned to Edinburgh to receive sittings from Charles I., and henceforth he was in

constant request by the northern and other nobility and gentry, as is shown by the numerous specimens of his work to be met with all over Scotland from Dunrobin to Tweedside.

To James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay, son of Gordon of Straloch the Scottish topographer, we are indebted for an exact description of "both towns of Aberdeen," written shortly after the middle of the seventeenth century, and for a plan of the city as it then stood. In earlier times the low ground near the Dee had been occupied with houses, but gradually the Gallowgate Hill (called also Windmill Hill), Castle Hill, and St Katharine's Hill had been built upon, until in Gordon's time the best part of the city stood upon or between these eminences. The streets and lanes had not been laid out according to any regular design, but were neatly paved with a "grey kind of hard stone not unlike to flint," the buildings were "of stone and lime, rigged above, covered with slates, and mostly of three or four storeys' height, some of them higher." Wooden buildings, which were numerous in the preceding century, had now gone out of fashion, though numbers were in existence at a much later date, for it was not till after a great fire which destroyed the west side of the Broadgate in 1741 that the erection of houses having their outside walls of wood was finally prohibited. "The dwelling-houses," Gordon goes on to say, "are cleanly, and beautiful, and neat, both within and without, and the side that looks to the street mostly adorned with galleries of timber which they call forestairs. Many houses have their gardens and orchards adjoining; every garden has its postern, and these are all planted with all sorts of trees which the climate will suffer to grow; so that the whole town, to such as draw near it upon some sides

of it, looks as if it stood in a garden or little wood."[1] Admiration is due to an example of public spirit in adding to the attractiveness of the town on the part of Jamesone who, finding that a piece of ground called the Playfield, "where comedies were acted of old beside the Well of Spa," was being destroyed by flooding from the Denburn, feued it from the town, embanked it against inundation, laid it out as a garden, planted it with trees, and bequeathed it to the community as a place of public resort. A daughter of Jamesone, it may be added, is believed to be the artist in needlework who sewed the beautiful tapestry that still decorates the wall of the West Church of St Nicholas.

But while evidences of a progressive state of wealth and culture at this period are not wanting, the darker side of social life continues to press itself on attention. A new generation had grown up and passed away since the outburst of clamorous mendicancy following the dissolution of the monasteries, and since crowds of beggars gathered at the doors of St Nicholas Church and tugged at the cloaks of citizens, demanding alms, at the close of public worship; but in the Church records both of town and county we find many evidences of the prevalence of destitution. In Aberdeen this problem was dealt with at the end of the sixteenth century by a classification of the poor into the four orders of children, "decayed" persons, the lame and impotent, and the aged and infirm who had lived in the town for at least seven years. Each householder was to receive one pauper child into his family, while relief to the other destitute classes was to be provided by voluntary contributions. Numerous edicts were passed for the repression of sturdy beggars and the expulsion of strangers without visible means

[1] A Description of both Touns, &c., Spalding Club, p. 9.

of subsistence. At Banff, in 1642, it was ordered that on complaint being made of annoyance by any "strong beggars," the offenders were to be "put in the thief's hole till the magistrates get convenient time to cause scourge them in most rigorous manner without any pity."

Frequent irruptions of "caterans" from the Highland districts of Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and Inverness-shire on predatory expeditions into the low country took place throughout the seventeenth century, and must be attributed to poverty as their predominant cause. The town itself was not wholly beyond the range of their depredations, and it continued to suffer occasionally from the turbulence of some of the lairds at the head of bodies of retainers. Aberdeen was the central meeting-place to which large numbers of people from the country resorted at the Martinmas and Whitsunday terms to collect moneys and make payments, and these half-yearly gatherings were made the occasion of reviving clan feuds and private quarrels and grudges. The magistrates tried to suppress the tumults that arose in this way, but as the great disturbers of the peace were "clannit men," who in great numbers fought for their respective sides, the local authorities themselves incurred some danger in attempting to mediate. The Privy Council was therefore petitioned in 1603 by the provost and magistrates to charge the nobility, gentry, and lieges of all ranks to put a stop to these disturbances. Four years afterwards the magistrates had to appeal again to the Privy Council to free them from the "letters of caption" that were frequently addressed to them for apprehending and putting in ward "clannit gentlemen," which commissions they declared themselves unable to fulfil, suggesting that this duty might be transferred to the Marquis of Huntly, as sheriff of the shire. The town occasionally

took part in the strifes or in quelling the disorders of the country, as when it sent a force to aid the Earl Marischal in recovering Deer,[1] and when, in 1603, it sent sixteen soldiers to assist the king's guard in besieging the house of Dumbreck, held against its lawful owner, his brother, by George Meldrum, who was soon afterwards beheaded "for his oppressions and other crimes." Sometimes the citizens interposed to prevent broils, as in the case of the factions of Earl Marischal and Gordon younger of Cairnborrow, between whom a strife portending bloodshed arose at one of these Martinmas gatherings. Another illustration of the state of the country in these respects is found in the case of a society called the Knights of the Mortar, or Society of the Boys, which was headed by some of the minor Leslies and Forbeses. These bravados, who were bound by oath to stand by one another in all their quarrels, went about terrorising and oppressing the population. In 1609 the Lords of Council, considering it "a reproach and scandal that such a handful and infamous byke of lawless limmars should be so long suffered" in any part of the kingdom, granted a commission against them to the Earl of Enzie, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, Sir Alexander Gordon of Cluny, and others; but other three years elapsed before the society was suppressed.

The friendly attitude of James towards Huntly was not continued by Charles. The new king had a special antipathy to the jurisdictions exercised by the greater nobility, and Huntly had his open or secret enemies whose whisperings may have excited prejudice against him in the royal mind. On the occasion of new trouble with the Clanchattan, through which the marquis was suspected of acting against Moray, now the northern lieutenant, Charles called upon

[1] *Supra*, p. 178.

him to resign the sheriffships of Aberdeen and Inverness. That of Aberdeen was conferred on Johnston of Caskieben, who had been created a baronet; and under the patronage of the Court much progress in social distinction was made by the branch of the great house of Crichton which had acquired the lordship of Frendraught, in the vicinity of Huntly's seat in Strathbogie. Sir James Crichton extended his possessions by a purchase of land from Gordon of Rothiemay, whereupon followed a dispute as to boundaries and salmon-fishings, a lawsuit in which Crichton prevailed, and a feud in which acts of lawlessness were committed by the Gordons on Crichton's lands. Armed with a warrant from the Lords of Council, early in 1630, Crichton was proceeding to Rothiemay with a body of his retainers to arrest Gordon, but met him on the way also at the head of an armed party. In the conflict which ensued Gordon was fatally wounded. His son and successor allied himself with James Grant, an outlaw and brigand chief of Upper Banffshire, for the purpose of devastating the Frendraught lands; but after a reference of the matter to the judgment of Huntly, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstown, and Sir William Seton, and an unwilling payment by Crichton of 5000 merks as compensation to Rothiemay's widow, all parties professed reconciliation.

Fresh trouble, however, soon arose. In Crichton's party in the conflict had been John Meldrum of Reidhill and James Leslie, son of the laird of Pitcaple; and Meldrum, who was married to a sister of Pitcaple, had been wounded in the affray. Thinking himself insufficiently rewarded, Meldrum possessed himself of two of Crichton's horses. In virtue of one of the commissions or warrants, that were a cause of so much bloodshed, Crichton proceeded for the purpose of exacting redress to Pitcaple, where, much to

his annoyance, one of his kinsmen entered into an altercation with, and seriously wounded, James Leslie. The powerful Leslie interest was now roused against Crichton, who appealed first to Huntly and then to Moray. Moray thought he could do no good, but Huntly ultimately agreed to mediate, and invited Leslie of Pitcaple and Crichton to Bog of Gight. The Leslies were the first to leave, and hearing that they were lying in wait for Crichton, whom he detained for two days, Huntly sent his son, Lord John Gordon, who some years before had been created Viscount Aboyne and Melgum, with young Gordon of Rothiemay and an escort, to accompany him to Frendraught. There the party were hospitably entertained by the Crichtons, and pressed to remain for the night.

The house of Frendraught, an example of the new style of baronial residence, consisted of a tower and a new building adjoining it, between the two being a passage and staircase of timber. Rooms were assigned to the strangers in the tower, the viscount's being on the lower floor, while Rothiemay and some of their retinue were accommodated above. The household had gone to rest for the night. Presently Lord Melgum became aware that the tower was on fire, and rushed upstairs to apprise Rothiemay. The rapid progress of the flames prevented his return, and all the occupants of the tower perished.

Over the burning of the tower of Frendraught a mystery has always hung. Huntly and the Gordons suspected Sir James and Lady Elizabeth Crichton of being the incendiaries, though Lady Elizabeth was herself a Gordon, being daughter of the twelfth Earl of Sutherland. Crichton blamed the Leslies and their connections, whose supposed lying in wait for him was the cause of the party being at Frendraught. The Bishop of Aberdeen and others were appointed to visit the place and take evidence as to the origin of the fire, but

their report went no further than to say that in their judgment it could not have been raised by persons outside the house without aid from within. Judicial investigations were instituted, but with no other result than the execution of Meldrum upon meagre evidence except as regards his animus against Crichton. Two servants at Frendraught, a man and a woman, were tried; they were tortured to extract confession, and confessing nothing were set at liberty. The balladists and Arthur Johnston, who has two contemporary poems on the subject, voice the suspicion which from the first was directed against Lady Elizabeth Crichton. On the other hand, the fire of Frendraught was regarded as retribution on Huntly for the burning of Donibristle. But Crichton and his people were mercilessly harassed by the Gordon partisans and by lawless Highlanders with their connivance, by Gilderoy and his freebooters, by "broken men" of the Grant connection, and even by hungry Camerons and Macdonells from the west. Crichton, however, in the phrase of Spalding, had "great moyan" at Court, and some years after the fire the Privy Council, at his instance, summoned Huntly before it in Edinburgh, and bound him under a penalty of a hundred thousand merks to abstain from molesting Frendraught. Broken in spirit by his reverses and sorrows, the marquis addressed a pathetic petition to the king, in which he spoke of himself as "robbed of a dear son and a near kinsman through the matchless treachery of the laird of Frendraught," and stated that, though he had not hitherto interfered to save Crichton from personal harm or his estates and goods from the insolencies of others, he now in all humility acknowledged his error in not preserving peace in the neighbourhood of his residence. Crichton retained the royal favour, and lived to see his son raised to the peerage as first Viscount Frendraught, but the house did not prosper or long survive.

The first event in the ecclesiastico-political conflict of which Aberdeenshire was the arena in the seventeenth century is the General Assembly of Aberdeen held in 1605 by a few ministers of the extreme Presbyterian party in defiance of the royal authority, and with disastrous results to themselves. The diocese of Aberdeen had been divided into two provincial synods, and these into presbyteries, a few years before James agreed reluctantly, in 1592, to the abrogation of the episcopal system; but when he convoked a meeting of the Estates, and a general synod of the Church at Perth in 1597, the ministers of the north-eastern district showed a decided indisposition to respond to the leading-strings of the Melvilles and other "Edinburgh popes." The proceedings of this Assembly were followed later in the year by the Act of the Estates providing for the restoration of episcopacy to the extent that such pastors as the king should provide to the office of prelate should have a vote in Parliament. The clergy of the north-eastern diocese, and even those of Angus, where Erskine of Dun had been "superintendent," were more favourably disposed than their brethren in the south towards the views in favour with the king. The powerful support which these views received from the accession of James to the English throne stimulated the Melville party to make a bold incursion into the territory of their opponents by holding a General Assembly at Aberdeen. It was to be held in July 1604, but was prohibited by royal proclamation. On the appointed day of meeting James Melville and two other commissioners from the Presbytery of St Andrews appeared in St Nicholas Church and solemnly protested that they were there to do their duty, but as it was only an assembly of nine they could merely protest and adjourn. The most active members of the Presbyterian party in Aberdeenshire at this time were Principal Ferme of the Fraserburgh College and

John Forbes, minister of Alford, and at their instance in the Synod of Aberdeen a process of excommunication was brought against the Marquis of Huntly. On Huntly appealing to the Privy Council for an interdict, the defence of the synod was undertaken by Ferme and Forbes, and proceedings being threatened against the ministers, Forbes was sent to London to plead their cause before the king. The Aberdeen Assembly was convoked again for July 1605, and again it was proclaimed illegal; but as on this occasion there were nineteen ministers in attendance, including those from the south, it so far proceeded to business as to elect Forbes its moderator, and then adjourned till the following September. Among the nineteen ministers constituting the Assembly were William Forbes of Towie, Robert Youngson of Clatt, and James Irwin of Tough, in the district where the Forbes influence predominated, besides John Forbes of Alford, with Ferme, and Welsh the son-in-law of Knox, all of whom were sent as prisoners to different places for recusancy. They had not expected to be so severely dealt with, and John Forbes pleaded that the Assembly had been held with the concurrence of Chancellor Seton, a plea which the Chancellor in a letter to the king denounced as a "manifest lie," inviting his Majesty to judge whether his Chancellor or "a condemned traitor" was most worthy of credit. There can be little doubt, however, that the ministers did receive encouragement from Seton and others. The king, for his part, concluded that "the ministers would betray religion rather than submit to government, and that the Chancellor would betray the king for the malice he bore to the bishops."

Of the three great ecclesiastical parties of Scotland, the thoroughgoing Presbyterians were exceptionally weak in these counties; and the Aberdeen Assembly, which had been convoked for the purpose of strengthening them, had led for the

time to their utter discomfiture and overthrow. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, were exceptionally strong, and though unable to continue the armed struggle, they seemed to be rapidly regaining ground. The favour shown them by Huntly was a cause of much concern to the Church by law established. Huntly himself, after being repeatedly censured, suffered new excommunication; but on again signing the Confession of Faith he received absolution at the Glasgow Assembly of 1610,—only, however, to relapse once more to his old position. Erroll, who had conformed to Protestantism with Huntly in 1598, was more earnestly Catholic at heart, and though he agreed to sign the Confession in 1610, his conscience smote him, and he drew back with tears, his manifest conscientiousness leading, as Archbishop Spottiswoode records, to his being "used with greater lenity than others of that set." Most of the other Gordons and Hays were likewise Romanists in profession or sympathy, as were several of the Leslies, some of the Irvines and Cheynes, and among minor county families the Cons, Turings, and Blakhalls. Robert Bisset of Lessendrum, who was "bailie" to the Marquis of Huntly, has the distinction of being set down in a list of adherents of the Church of Rome drawn up at the beginning of the reign of Charles I.[1] as "the most pestilent and dangerous instrument in the north"; and James Forbes of Blackton, the only Forbes on the list, is described as "a very pernicious seducer and busy trafficker." Among priests engaged in the mission against Protestantism in Aberdeenshire before the "troubles" broke out were several of the name of Leslie, including the notorious Capuchin known as Father Archangel, three Christies, of whom one was principal of the College of Douai, and a band of other "Fathers." The energy and zeal put forth in the Roman Catholic interest,

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. ii. p. lv.

however, were destined to be barren of substantial or lasting result.

The third and for a time the most powerful of the ecclesiastical parties were the Episcopalians. They had the king on their side; they were the moderate party who attracted the support of the burgesses; their growing ascendancy and prestige checked the reaction towards Romanism; and their history during the second, third, and fourth decades of the seventeenth century is the history of the intellectual and religious life of Aberdeenshire. In the days of Bishop Patrick Forbes, as in those of Bishop Elphinstone, Aberdeen had a celebrity far beyond the limits of Scotland as a home of scholars and centre of light.

The unhappy condition of the north-eastern province as regards both church and commonwealth was the subject of a remarkable memorial addressed to the king by the Synod of Aberdeen in February 1606. This document represented that "uncouth priests and Jesuits" were received by the "great men and others under them," and were saying mass and seducing the simple; that the lairds of Gight and Newton —Gordons and "excommunicated papists" — were "chief maintainers of these things"; that when the Synods of Aberdeen and Moray sought by the censures of the Kirk to reclaim Lords Huntly and Erroll from "papistry" these peers were continually discharged by royal letters; that much of the country was left in spiritual destitution by the long confinement of its ministers, while the neighbouring kirks had been left vacant since the Reformation; and that other ministers were condemned and railed upon, their doctrine not heard and discipline mocked, while Jesuits ministered in the churches and parishes without pastors. As for the commonwealth, it was rent by deadly feuds of the Forbeses and Irvines, Leslies and Leiths. Another head of complaint was that every man

that pleased went about armed. The memorial earnestly besought the royal intervention to remedy this state of things.[1]

The spiritual destitution seems to have been greatest in the Presbytery of Alford, which had been deprived of four of its ministers for their participation in the forbidden Assembly. There was in this district a man of high culture, destined to exert great influence over the religious condition of the two counties—Patrick Forbes, laird of Corse and elder brother of John Forbes, minister of Alford, William Forbes, founder of the family of Craigievar, and Arthur Forbes who served in Sweden, settled in Ireland, was created a baronet, and was father of the first Earl of Granard. Patrick Forbes was educated in the south, first at Stirling, and afterwards at Glasgow University under Andrew Melville, who was his kinsman, and whom he accompanied from Glasgow to St Andrews. For a time he lived in England, and he is said to have received part of his education at Oxford. He had been in full sympathy with the Melville party, under whose influence he had been brought up. At Corse, to which he returned, he attended to his duties as laird, pursued the literary and theological studies to which he was devoted, and, in view of the lack of public ministrations of religion, he assembled his family and dependants on Sundays and taught them in matters of faith and duty.

A serious blow fell on the Presbyterian interest when Andrew Melville, for his outbreak on the Archbishop of Canterbury, was committed to the Tower, while James Melville was exiled to England, and Welsh, John Forbes of Alford, and four of their companions were finally condemned to banishment for their participation in the Aberdeen Assembly. Deprived of its leaders, the Presbyterian party was paralysed:

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. ii. pp. 151, 152.

on the other hand, the powers of the bishops had been increased, and Blackburn, who had been titular bishop of Aberdeen, with little more than nominal powers, received episcopal consecration in 1611, along with the other Scottish bishops, and became the regular president of the provincial or diocesan synod. These changes being ratified by Parliament, the importance of Presbyteries was lessened and Episcopacy was once more fully established. The restoration of Episcopacy did no violence to public sentiment in Aberdeenshire or Banffshire, but on its action with regard to the former endowments of the Church depended the attitude of their lay possessors.

Patrick Forbes was urged by the bishop and diocesan synod to become an ordained clergyman in order that the Church, in such times, might have his aid. He refused to take this step, but with the approbation of these authorities was to continue his expositions of Scripture until such time as a regular incumbent should be appointed. Archbishop Gladstanes, however, on hearing that Forbes was acting as a lay preacher, ordered him to desist, and a letter in the same sense came down from the king's secretary. To this letter Forbes made a dignified reply, stating that in the Presbyteries of Alford and Kincardine O'Neil at least twenty-one churches "lay unplanted," and the condition of the people was little removed from heathenism, and he went on to narrate how he began in simple and private manner to catechise his own family, how the churchmen of the province pressed him to take some public charge in the ministry of the Church, and how, on his refusal to do so, they requested that at least for the good of others he would transfer his domestic services to the vacant church near his house, which he had done, but he had never gone beyond giving an ordinary lecture on Sunday. In obedience to the Primate, however, he stopped

his public teaching. A painful incident led to an alteration in his course of life. John Chalmers, minister of Keith, who had been a regent of Marischal College, fell into a morbid state of mind and attempted to commit suicide. His self-inflicted wounds not proving at once fatal, he became keenly remorseful and sent for Forbes, imploring him to enter the ministry and take charge of the parish. Forbes at last resolved to take orders, and in 1612, in the forty-seventh year of his age, he became minister of Keith, where he remained till 1618, when he was raised to the bishopric of Aberdeen. He had long parted company with the extreme Presbyterians. Their principles now seemed to him incompatible with discipline and civil government.

Another gifted member of the Forbes family was already impressing his strong personality upon the citizens of Aberdeen—namely, William Forbes, afterwards first Bishop of Edinburgh. A General Assembly was held in Aberdeen, at the request of the bishops, in August 1616. Huntly had been committed to ward for relapsing into "popery," and after a short time had been released under a warrant from the Chancellor, and absolved by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This Assembly, under the presidency of Archbishop Spottiswoode, adopted a new Confession of Faith, and Huntly was one of its earliest subscribers. In response to a missive from the king desiring that the principal towns of the realm should be planted with pastors and ministers of good literature and conversation, and in particular that care be taken to have a qualified and sufficient minister in the town of Aberdeen, the Assembly nominated William Forbes, minister of Monymusk, to be one of the ministers of St Nicholas'. An Aberdonian by birth, nephew of the two Cargills, and an alumnus of Marischal College, he had been in Poland, and at several of the German and Dutch universities, and through his relative

Dr Gilbert Jack had made the acquaintance of Scaliger, Grotius, Vossius, and other scholars. He had also been at Oxford, and by the advice of Dr John Craig had declined an offer of the chair of Hebrew there, and returned to the bracing climate of Aberdeenshire. Degrees in divinity had been suppressed by the Reformers as tending to "popery" and superstition, but were revived at St Andrews in 1616, and in the following year, on the occasion of the king's visit, the doctorate was conferred on William Forbes. He took a leading part in the Episcopalian and liturgical revival in Aberdeen, and may be said to have been a High Churchman, in the modern or Tractarian sense, holding that many of the differences between the Church of Rome and the Protestants were merely superficial. Bishop Patrick Forbes, who by this time was presiding over the diocese, reported to the king that his majesty had not "a more learned, sound, sanctified, and diligent divine" than William Forbes. On the resignation of the principalship of Marischal College by Aedie, who had but meagre qualifications for it, Dr William Forbes became his successor.

The career of the new Principal is very instructive as to the spirit prevailing in the north-east and the contrast it presents with that exemplified in other parts of Scotland. In 1621 he was appointed one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and reluctantly left Aberdeen. In Aberdeen, the stronghold of Episcopacy, he had been one of its leaders; in Edinburgh his life was one of contention and turmoil, and his position had been prejudiced from the first by the fact that the popular candidate when he was appointed had been Andrew Cant, an Aberdonian of a very different school, and of great rhetorical powers as well as aggressiveness. After battling with little effect against the difficulties of his position, and experiencing the worry of organised annoyance till his health threatened to give way,

Forbes gladly availed himself of an opportunity to return to his old charge in Aberdeen, where he was welcomed back by all classes.

With his colleague, Dr Baron—the two being foremost men in the Church—Dr William Forbes was sent by Archbishop Spottiswoode to preach in Edinburgh before King Charles on his visit to Scotland in 1633. One result of this royal visit was the erection of the bishopric of Edinburgh and Forbes's appointment to it, no doubt on the suggestion or with the concurrence of Laud. Bishop Burnet records that his father, who had acted for Bishop William Forbes in matters of law, often said that he never saw him without thinking his heart was in heaven, that he preached "with a zeal and vehemence that made him forget all measures of time," and that his sermons of two or three hours' duration so wasted his strength, with his ascetic course of life, that he died within a year of his promotion to the bishopric. In his "High" Churchism he went beyond the other Aberdeen Doctors, and his only published work is "the first Scottish theological treatise in which the writings of the Anglican divines are constantly appealed to as authorities."[1]

Much greater importance, however, appertains to the career of Patrick Forbes. Immediately after his consecration he made a notable public appearance as preacher before the General Assembly at Perth. The Episcopal party controlled the Assembly, and the "Perth Articles" were accordingly adopted; but strong dissension soon began to manifest itself in the south, and with a view to composing differences a conference between the bishops and some leading ministers of the Presbyterian party was held a few months afterwards. At this conference Archbishop Spottiswoode put Forbes forward to take the lead, believing that his influence and sympathies

[1] Grub, Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 351.

would weigh with the ministers. From a summary of his speech preserved by Calderwood it would seem that his tone was that of moderation, and that he upheld the episcopal system and advocated compliance with the Perth Articles on the practical ground not only that a decree of the Church ought to command the obedience of any reasonable person, but that it was necessary to have unity of purpose in dealing with irreligion, the papists, and the weaklings who, "seeing such a distraction of opinions and contrariety amongst ministers, doubted of all religion, and knew not what side to take." Forbes seems to have become increasingly impatient of schismatic and opinionative ministers; and when he found that the ratification of the Perth Articles by Parliament was not unanimous, he made a speech in which he declared that though he would himself have preferred that the ceremonies which they authorised had not been introduced, yet there was no danger in using them, and those who refused obedience in regard to them were "contentious troublers of the peace of the Church, and worthy to be punished." The principles of tolerance were still imperfectly understood even by the most enlightened; its spirit was never characteristic of reformers.

There is no reason to dissent from the view of Spottiswoode that Forbes was the best prelate Scotland had known since Elphinstone. "So wise and judicious, so grave and graceful a pastor," says the archbishop, "I have not known in all my time in any church." Without delay he proceeded to make himself exactly acquainted with the condition of the diocese, and to remedy abuses, supply defects, stimulate the clergy, and allay dissensions. Without warning and without attendants he would arrive in a particular district on Saturday evening, attend the church on Sunday, and take note of what was defective or amiss; he removed unworthy ministers

and put better men in their place, procured the division of large parishes into areas of more manageable compass, and even succeeded to some extent in overcoming the rapacity of the lay impropriators of the tithes who had favoured the system of placing two or more parishes under the charge of a single minister, and were in large measure responsible for the spiritual destitution prevailing in the diocese. Pre-eminently a working bishop, the whole diocese was his parish and the whole people his flock, and he left an enduring impression on the religious life of Aberdeenshire.

But it was not alone, or perhaps even chiefly, in his direct dealings with the clergy and people that his influence was effectively exerted. The universities had his early care. In 1619 a commission of visitation was appointed to inquire into the management of their revenues and the manner of teaching, to correct abuses, and to report to the Privy Council; and it was to act through a quorum of at least seven members, of whom the bishop was always to be one. At King's College Principal Rait was severely censured by the commissioners, who found that he had usurped the office of common procurator, had been negligent in teaching, and had maladministered the college affairs. Though the revenues of the deanery, the sub-chantry, and the parsonage of Methlic had lately been annexed, the management was so corrupt that the condition of the college had not improved; while there was "no ministry of the gospel in the kirks of the deanery, but lamentable heathenism and such looseness as is horrible to record, even about the cathedral kirk of the diocese." The principal, in accordance with the terms of the foundation, was held personally liable to make good any deficiency in the furnishings or fabric of the college; but rather than

proceed to a sentence against him, the bishop and his fellow-commissioners allowed him to enter into a bond to provide from the rents of the deanery a minister for the parish of Monycabock or Newmachar, to restore the internal furnishings of the college, repair the buildings, and clear away the debt. The commission appointed a rector, dean of faculty, and professor of civil law; the professorship of canon law, abolished by the New Foundation of the Presbyterian party, was restored, as also that of physic, to which Dr Patrick Dun of Marischal College was appointed, while the office of grammarian or humanist was conferred on Wedderburn. Some of these appointments seem to have been provisional and without salary, but they betoken a desire on the part of the bishop to infuse new life into Elphinstone's university and to revive his spirit within it. Another step was to re-establish the professorship of divinity, for which purpose the bishop and clergy raised among themselves the necessary fund.

After sitting for three days at King's College the commissioners proceeded to the sister university, but only to find its gates closed against them. When they had knocked for some time the porter came to a window and told them that he himself was locked in, and that Dr Strachan, rector of the college, Gilbert Keith, son of Earl Marischal, and William Ogston, newly appointed as a regent, had taken away the keys. Earl Marischal, though he had been appointed one of the commissioners, had not attended the King's College visitation, nor was he disposed to have his own college interfered with by the bishop. The king's commission was read at the gate, the principal and his colleagues being summoned to appear. Principal Aedie answered that he was ready to welcome the visitation provided the commissioners guaranteed him against danger

from his patron, Earl Marischal, and he produced a letter from the earl forbidding the principal and regents to acknowledge the commission in any way. Strachan, on being personally summoned to desist from impeding the visitation, "refused to compear or deliver any keys or open any gates," alleging that he had orders to a contrary effect from his "lord and master" Earl Marischal. An adjournment for a few days took place, as Lord Chancellor Seton, who was at the head of the commission, was about to visit Aberdeen. On the advice of Seton it was agreed by the commissioners to request the earl to give way to the visitation, and Principal Aedie undertook to deliver letters in this sense from the chancellor and the bishop, and to report the answer. On the following day the principal reported that he had not seen Lord Marischal, and that the countess "told him that he might carry back the letters, for he would not find the earl or any answer to them at that time." But the resignation of Principal Aedie and the appointment of Dr William Forbes to the principalship may be regarded as practical evidence that the bishop prevailed. Forbes had held a readership in theology created by the town council in 1616, and on the endowment of a professorship Dr Robert Baron was presented to the chair — a profound scholar and theologian after the bishop's own heart.

Bishop Forbes "visited" King's College again in 1628, when he stopped the costly banquets which students on graduating gave to the professors, and ordered the money thus wasted to be expended on the library. The university under his influence was essentially a school of philosophy, but in the hands of theologians of a different order from he Melvilles and those whom they inspired. It was the great centre of Episcopalian culture in Scotland.

The "Aberdeen Doctors" whom the bishop gathered round him, and who made Aberdeen famous in the world of learning, were his son, Dr John Forbes, professor of divinity in King's College, and reputedly the most learned of the group; Dr Robert Baron, a St Andrews' graduate, who had succeeded to the incumbency at Keith, had been translated to St Nicholas' Church, was shortly afterwards appointed first professor of divinity in Marischal College, and at his decease, which occurred prematurely, was bishop-designate of Orkney; Dr William Leslie, successively regent, sub-principal, and principal of King's College; Dr Alexander Scroggie, promoted by Bishop Forbes from the parish of Drumoak to the Cathedral of St Machar; Dr James Sibbald, of the Sibbalds of Kair, in Kincardineshire, regent of Marischal College in 1619, and minister of St Nicholas' in 1626, "to whom nothing could be objected," says the parson of Rothiemay, "if you call not anti-covenanting a crime"; and Dr Alexander Ross, another of the city ministers, but not, as has sometimes been alleged, the author read by Samuel Butler's "ancient sage philosopher." Dr William Forbes had been of the same goodly fellowship; and Dr William Guild, another of the city ministers, and afterwards principal of King's College, also belonged to the group, but when stormy weather began to arise he cast in his lot with the Covenanters. There were other eminent men in the Aberdeen society of this brilliant episcopate. Dr Arthur Johnston, whose sympathies were at one with those of the Doctors of Divinity, was in frequent residence at his house in Aberdeen, and Dr William Johnston, on his return from Sedan, was established as first professor of mathematics in Marischal College. John Lundie, master of the grammar-school and King's College humanist, and David Leech, sub-principal, emerged under Bishop Forbes and changed with the times.

David Wedderburn, Principals Patrick Dun and David Rait, the latter being Dean of Aberdeen, and George Jamesone, who cultivated his art and saw much of aristocratic society while his contemporaries were pursuing learning, have each a recognisable individuality and position in the numerous company.

One other name must be mentioned, that of Edward Raban the printer. The art of printing had been introduced into Scotland at the instance of Bishop Elphinstone, but it was not until after the lapse of more than a century, under the stimulating influence of Bishop Patrick Forbes, that the first printing-press was set up in Aberdeen. Regent Andrew Strachan, the contemporary panegyrist of the founders and benefactors of the university, in an oration printed by Raban in 1631, records in grandiloquent Latin how the bishop, "when he perceived the printing-press to be a nursery of the library, brought hither as if from heaven the art of printing, an art divine and worthy of the brain of Jove which never before had greeted the forests of Caledonia and the Grampian mountains"; and how "by this privilege our academy is exalted above all others in the country." Raban, who was by birth an Englishman, appears to have settled for a short time in Edinburgh, from which he removed to St Andrews as printer to the university. His stay at St Andrews did not exceed two years (1620-1622), but during that period he did some work for Dr Baron, whose connection with St Salvator's College seems not to have ceased when he became minister of Keith. Before July 1622 Raban was exercising his art in Aberdeen as printer to the university; in November of the same year the town council appointed him printer to the town at a salary of £40 Scots, and, in respect of the cheapening of school-books, each scholar at the grammar-school and the English and

music schools was to pay him eightpence quarterly. Many works issued from his press during the next quarter of a century — yearly almanacs and "prognostications," popular poetry, controversial pamphlets, university theses, Wedderburn's grammars and other educational publications, editions of the Latin classics, various works of Arthur Johnston, sermons, theological treatises, psalm-books and liturgies, and a famous national work, the Book of Canons, the supervision of which was entrusted to Dr Baron. By this time (1636) the hostility to the Episcopal Church in southern Scotland was ominously strong, and other reasons than Dr Baron's editorship may have dictated the production in Aberdeen of the Book of Canons.[1]

Never had scholarship been so highly valued or so fully provided for in Scotland as it was in Aberdeen in the days of Bishop Forbes and the eminent men he gathered round him. In the divinity curriculum at King's College a prominent place was assigned to Church History, which had hitherto been entirely neglected: it was taught by Dr John Forbes, and the historical spirit accompanied the philosophical in the erudite Dr Baron, whose special strength was in the Fathers and Schoolmen. Bishop Forbes revived the old ordinance by which the regents were obliged at the end of six years, if required, to pass from the university to the charge of parochial cures, and make way for younger men in training for the ministry. This system is said to have invigorated both the university and the Church. Otherwise, Forbes's rule left a lasting impression, which the coming "Troubles" served only to deepen. His rule was gentle, and he lived on cordial terms with the clergy, but where principle and duty were concerned he was inflexible. On the occasion of a dispute between two heritors as to sittings

[1] Edmond, The Aberdeen Printers. Aberdeen, 1886.

in one of the churches, the more influential of the two obtained a letter from the king ordering an award in his favour, but the bishop paid no attention to the missive, decided in favour of the other, and wrote to the Privy Council, of which he was himself a member, saying that he was indeed indebted for his position to the Crown, but that his conscience was God's, and by its guidance he must act. This incident is in keeping with his whole character and practice. After being struck with paralysis in 1632 and physically disabled, so that he had to be carried into church, he continued to preach and to preside over meetings of the clergy. When he died on March 28, 1635, his body was removed from the Episcopal Palace in Old Aberdeen to St Ninian's Chapel, on the Castle Hill, and there lay in state till April 9, when a public funeral took place with elaborate solemnities. During his comparatively short episcopate of seventeen years, Bishop Forbes effected a transformation in the religious life of the diocese; and a remarkable literary monument to his memory was issued from Raban's press in the course of the year of his death, in a volume containing funeral sermons by all the Aberdeen Doctors, with letters from the king and the Scottish archbishops and bishops, and poetical and other tributes to his memory by Arthur Johnston, Wedderburn, and numerous other writers.[1]

[1] The Funeral Sermons, Orations, Epitaphs, and other Pieces on the Death of the Right Rev. Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen. From the original edition of 1635, with Biographical Memoir and Notes, by Charles Farquhar Shand, advocate, Edinburgh. Printed for the Spottiswoode Society, 1845.

CHAPTER X.

BEGINNING OF THE "TROUBLES"—THE NOBILITY AND THE CHURCH ENDOWMENTS—CHARLES'S EJECTION OF PROVOST PATRICK LESLIE—THE ANTI-EPISCOPAL PARTY IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS—SAMUEL RUTHERFORD IN ABERDEEN—VISIT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE TABLES—DEATH OF THE FIRST MARQUIS OF HUNTLY: OVERTURES BY THE COVENANTERS TO HIS SUCCESSOR—RIVAL PROCLAMATIONS AT THE CROSS—THE GLASGOW ASSEMBLY: ABSTENTION OF ABERDEEN CLERGY—DIVISION OF PARTIES IN ABERDEENSHIRE—FIRST OCCUPATION OF THE CITY BY MONTROSE—HUNTLY ENTRAPPED AND SENT TO EDINBURGH—THE TROT OF TURRIFF—ROYALISTS AGAIN HOLD ABERDEEN—INVASION OF THE MEARNS BY ABOYNE: FIASCO AT MEGRAY HILL—BATTLE OF THE BRIDGE OF DEE—THE FORCED LOAN AND ARTICLES OF BON-ACCORD—MONRO'S SIEGES OF ROYALISTS' RESIDENCES—GENERAL ASSEMBLY IN ABERDEEN—DR GUILD APPOINTED PRINCIPAL OF KING'S COLLEGE—LORD GORDON JOINS THE COVENANTERS—SUPPLIES FOR THE ARMY IN ENGLAND—REJECTION OF NORTHERN RECRUITS—HADDO AND THE JAFFRAYS—EXECUTION OF SIR JOHN GORDON—MONTROSE AS ROYALIST LEADER—FIGHT AT JUSTICE MILLS AND SACK OF ABERDEEN—THE "CLEANSERS" IN DEESIDE—THE BATTLE OF ALFORD—HUNTLY AND MONTROSE—HUNTLY AGAIN IN COMMAND OF ABERDEEN—HIS EXECUTION.

We are now on the eve of the "Troubles" of which so many pictures are preserved in the vivid 'Memorials' of Spalding. The ecclesiastical measures of the later years of James's reign, and still more those of Charles, alarmed the lay holders of the old Church lands and revenues, who availed themselves of the incidents of Charles's visit to Scotland in 1633 to make common cause with the Presbyterian clergy and hasten on the crisis. Much of the legislation of 1633, however, was clearly in the public interest, especially that re-

lating to schools and vacant churches, and while many of the Aberdeenshire heritors were keen in their opposition to the Government and the bishops, their action has to be viewed in the light of their dealings with the ecclesiastical revenues and of their neglect to provide instruction for old or young.

Of the exercise of the royal prerogative Aberdeen was soon to have its own direct and special experience. The city had been represented in the Parliament of 1633 by Provost Sir Paul Menzies—the last Menzies in the list of provosts—and Patrick Leslie, of Iden, or Eden, on the banks of the Deveron, who was one of the baillies. Charles had attended the meetings of the Parliament and its legislative committee, and the attitude of the second representative of Aberdeen had attracted his notice and excited his displeasure. On Leslie being appointed to the provostship in the following year the king demanded his removal from office, and called on the town council to reinstate Sir Paul Menzies. "Some seditious convocations" connected with the election are mentioned in the letter conveying this demand, and from Spalding we gather that Leslie and his friends had succeeded in packing the council with a majority of their own partisans. The demands of the king were complied with, and at the election of the following year a letter was read from Archbishop Spottiswoode, as Chancellor, forbidding the appointment of Leslie to the provostship, and even his admission to the council. While the proceedings were going on Bishop Bellenden, the successor of Patrick Forbes, accompanied by the sheriff, intervened with a demand that an adjournment should take place till the king and Privy Council should be consulted; and as a majority of the electing body—the old and new councils sitting to-

gether — was still determined to go on with the election, the bishop, as a Privy Councillor, dissolved the meeting. On the council reassembling a fortnight afterwards a scene of violent disorder took place between the rival parties, ending in the withdrawal of Leslie and his supporters in a body, and the election as provost of Robert Johnston of Crimond, a relation of Dr Arthur Johnston, and father of Colonel or "Crowner" William Johnston who had served under Gustavus Adolphus, and was to be for a time the military strategist of the Aberdeenshire royalists. This election, however, was annulled four months afterwards by the Privy Council, which nominated to the provostship Alexander Jaffray, father of the better-known provost, Member of Parliament, State official, and diarist, of Cromwell's time. Spalding tells us that many slighted the first Provost Jaffray as not being of "the old blood of the town," but the "oe," or grandson, of a baker, and he was publicly insulted by a "baken pie" being placed on the desk before his seat in church. In point of fact, the new party was closely connected with many of the county families—Patrick Leslie with the Leslies of Balquhain; Jaffray with the Erskines of Pittodrie (an offshoot from the Earls of Mar); and Matthew Lumsden, another of its members, with the Forbeses; and it also included Robert Farquhar of Mounie, a wealthy merchant, who was himself to be provost and otherwise prominent as a Covenanter; and David Aedie, who was unquestionably of "the old blood."

Thus also there was a close affinity between this party and the lay holders of the Church endowments in the county. To what extent it represented the general feeling and attitude of the citizens is uncertain. One of the residents in Aberdeen in 1636-1638 was Samuel Rutherford, who had been removed

from his incumbency in the south of Scotland for contumacy, and banished to this stronghold of Episcopacy by the High Commission; and from his correspondence we receive the information that he knew of only one "pious family" in the city. Rutherford had written his treatise against the "Arminian" doctrines, disputed with the doctors for the benefit of whose tutelage he had been sent north, and had to listen in silence while his Calvinism was controverted in three sermons by Dr Baron. A proposal for union with the Lutheran Church of Germany had been referred by the Scottish Primate to the Aberdeen Doctors, and reported on with favour, but Rutherford could see in it only a step towards "reconciliation with Popery." If the new party in Aberdeen was opposed to Charles's measures and disliked his use of the royal prerogative, it had as yet, we may infer, but little of the temper of which Rutherford was a prominent example.

The next event of considerable importance in the history of Aberdeen is the visit in 1638 of the commissioners from the "Tables." Laud and the king, since their return to England, had been aiming at a reconstruction of the Scottish Church on a basis of Anglican ritual and of so-called Arminianism. The Book of Canons had been printed by Raban at the beginning of 1636. Drafts or sketches of the regulations had been prepared by some of the Scottish bishops, and recast into a comprehensive and self-consistent unity by Laud. The Service-Book followed in 1637, and led to the disturbances in Edinburgh, and to widespread agitation. Spalding, writing from his Aberdeen point of view, asserts that these disturbances were organised by a band of nobles whose concern was with the Church endowments, and by some "miscontented Puritans," headed

by Alexander Henderson, David Dickson, and Andrew Cant, who were envious of the bishops, and especially disliked the rule in the Book of Canons that each bishop should be judge of all disorders in his diocese.[1]

The opponents of Episcopacy and of liturgical forms appointed the committee or body called the Tables, consisting of four members each from the nobility, lesser barons, burgesses, and clergy, professedly to escape from the inconvenience attending government by crowds and to try to arrange matters with the king's Council. Ceasing, however, to be Supplicants, as they had hitherto called themselves, the Tables proceeded to assume the powers of a provisional government and to draw up the National Covenant, consisting of Craig's Confession of 1580, a recital of Acts of Parliament in favour of the reformed religion, and a bond or covenant whereby the subscribers bound themselves, as they interpreted its terms, to oppose liturgical worship and the Episcopal system. The National Covenant, first publicly subscribed in Edinburgh on February 28, 1638, was promptly condemned by the University of Aberdeen, and the pens of Drs Baron and John Forbes were at once busy against it.

Almost alone among the Scottish burghs Aberdeen was unrepresented by commissioners at the ratification of the Covenant, and during the progress of the subscription it was the only considerable place that stood out for the king and the episcopal establishment. Commissioners were sent north to procure its adhesion. First came certain barons of Angus and Mearns. They were entirely unsuccessful, and the king addressed a special missive of thanks to Aberdeen for its resistance to their demands. A second and more imposing commission followed in a few months, including

[1] Memorials of the Troubles, Spalding Club, vol. i. pp. 77-79.

James Graham, Earl of Montrose—Covenanter then, but the great Royalist captain of a later day—Lord Coupar, and the Master of Forbes, with Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys, Graham of Morphie, and the three "Apostles of the Covenant"—Henderson, Dickson, and Cant. Cant, though born in Kincardineshire,—of the same family, it is believed, from which descended Immanuel Kant, the German philosopher,—had been educated in Aberdeen, and was minister first of Alford and then of Pitsligo. He was the only prominent minister among the first Covenanters who was born and bred in the north-east. Dickson also knew something of Aberdeenshire, however, for he had been sentenced to rustication at Turriff for non-compliance with the Perth Articles. This second deputation was hospitably received by the town authorities and offered a public entertainment and the time-honoured Cup of Bon-Accord. The offer was refused—"the like was never done to Aberdeen," Spalding says—until the Covenant were subscribed, whereupon, "somewhat offended" but without more ado, Provost Johnston and the baillies ordered the wine provided for the entertainment of the visitors to be distributed among the poor men in the bede-house.[1]

In anticipation of the visit of the Covenanters the Aberdeen Doctors had prepared a series of questions concerning the lawfulness of the Covenant, and the authority by which it was sought to be imposed. Conciliatory answers were returned by the three Presbyterian divines, but the Aberdeen incumbents refused them the use of the pulpits for the ventilation of doctrines contrary to the customary teaching. Thus baulked, the Covenanters repaired on Sunday to the Earl Marischal's residence in the Castlegate, from a balcony of which they addressed an assemblage in the "close" or courtyard below. "Divers people," Spalding tells us, flocked in

[1] Spalding, vol. i. pp. 91, 92.

"to hear these preachers and see this novelty." There was an element of rowdyism in the crowd, but on the following day, when the addresses were resumed, a few of the audience subscribed the Covenant, including Patrick Leslie, Alexander Jaffray (elder), and John Lundie, master of the grammar-school, with four or five country ministers and, subject to reservations, Dr William Guild, city minister and king's chaplain, who had signed the Doctors' queries a few days before. The Covenanter delegation made a short tour through the county. Most of the members of Cant's Presbytery of Deer, as also his former Presbytery of Alford, in which the Forbes influence predominated, had already subscribed.[1] At Turriff, the minister, Thomas Mitchell, "finding the wind like to change," and, according to the Parson of Rothiemay, having personal reasons for shrinking from trial under the Canons by an impartial tribunal, veered round betimes, and, "after an imperious satisfaction of their scruples by Montrose," others were glad to subscribe.[2] Strathbogie and Banffshire were not visited.

On the return of the party to Aberdeen, after a week's absence, they found a printed rejoinder from the Doctors waiting them, to which a reply was written by Henderson and Dickson during a few days' stay with Sir Thomas Burnett at Muchalls Castle, in Kincardineshire, on their way south. "Duplies" from the Doctors followed, and the Covenanters did not pursue the controversy. The Doctors were men of argument, the Covenanters men of action.

The stand made by Aberdeen was the subject of commendatory letters addressed by the king and the Marquis of Hamilton, his Scottish commissioner, to the civic authorities and the Doctors, and a few weeks afterwards the town received the more substantial boon of a royal charter con-

[1] Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. i. p. 85. [2] Ibid.

firming all its ancient rights, privileges, and immunities, and conferring on it additional grants and the status of a sheriffdom. This important writ is the last general charter granted to the citizens and their civic rulers.

At this time, as in every crisis in the affairs of the two counties during the preceding two hundred years, much depended on the attitude and action of Huntly. The first Marquis, broken in spirit by the misfortunes of his latter days, was being carried from Edinburgh to Strathbogie to die, in 1636, when his death occurred at Dundee, and his son, the Earl of Enzie, who had been commander of the Scottish Guards in France, having returned home, the Covenanters tried by offers and menaces to enlist him on their side. To Colonel Robert Monro, who had been an officer in the Swedish service, and whom the Earl of Rothes, the head of the Protestant Leslies, had employed to make overtures, the marquis replied with characteristic spirit that his family had risen and stood by the kings of Scotland, and that if King Charles was to fall, his own life, honours, and estate would be buried in the same ruins.[1] Thus the second Marquis assumed his hereditary position as Royalist leader in the north.

The aspect of affairs changed in the autumn when Charles in alarm revoked the Service-Book and Canons, dissolved the High Commission, promised repeal of the Perth Articles, and enjoined subscription to Craig's Negative Confession of 1580 and the Bond for the Maintenance of the True Religion of 1589. Spottiswoode and other members of the episcopate were already refugees in England, the Bishop of Aberdeen alone having general support among his clergy. Many of the nobles were satisfied with these concessions, and in a short time 28,000 signatures to the Confession and Bond were

[1] Scots Affairs, vol. i. pp. 49, 50.

obtained, 12,000 of them through the influence of Huntly. As commissioner for obtaining the adhesion of the counties of Aberdeen, Banff, and Inverness, he first called for the signatures of the provost and magistrates of Aberdeen. Provost Jaffray, who had just returned to the civic chair, "for removing all scruple out of the minds of the people," called on Drs Baron and Sibbald to subscribe, and in performing an act so little to their liking they declared that they accepted the Confession as it condemned all Popish errors, but that they did not understand the Perth Articles, Episcopal government, or any doctrine, rite, or ceremony not repugnant to Scripture or to the practice of the ancient Church or the modern reformed and sound Churches, to be condemned by it. In this sense also the Confession and Bond were signed by the provost and baillies. On the following day the marquis, accompanied by his sons and others of the Gordons, with Irvine of Drum, sheriff of the county, and the city authorities, proceeded to the market cross and had the proclamation published by the Rothesay herald. As soon as the cross was cleared another party ascended it, headed by Lord Fraser and the Master of Forbes, who protested against the proclamation and "took instruments," according to Scottish legal form and phraseology. Following the example that had been set by Huntly, Fraser concluded by calling for cheers for the king; but while there had been a general response to Huntly's call, few of the Aberdonians paid any heed to that of the Covenanting peer.[1] At Old Aberdeen the bishop, the principal and regents, the resident gentry, and the general community willingly signed the Confession and Bond.

The predominance of the Covenanters in other parts of Scotland was, however, beginning to tell in Aberdeen. The king had hoped that the Doctors would take part in the

[1] Spalding, vol. i. p. 113.

Glasgow Assembly which met in November 1638, about a month after these events, and Huntly also desired them to be in readiness; but (says Spalding) "none obeyed for plain fear." Drs Baron and Sibbald were appointed commissioners, with Guild, and Lindsay the parson of Belhelvie, but did not attend. King's College sent John Lundie of the Grammar-School, its common procurator, with a commission limited to answering complaints against the principal and regents. Lundie, however, not only went beyond his commission but seems to have acted in a manner entirely contrary to its spirit. At his instance, on a petition for the abrogation of Elphinstone's foundation as revived by Forbes, a committee was appointed to "visit" the college.

The proceedings of the Glasgow Assembly are part of general history—how Hamilton, as king's commissioner, dissolved it when it proceeded to pass judgment on the bishops; how it sat on, nevertheless, declared the bishops to be deposed and all acts of Assemblies at which they had been present annulled, and re-established the Presbyterian system. Its acts were proclaimed illegal and invalid by Hamilton in Edinburgh and by Huntly in Aberdeen, where the magistrates and clergy refused to allow them to be read in the churches. But Aberdeen was almost the only place where it was set at defiance.

Associated with Huntly in the Royalist or anti-Covenanting interest was the powerful Gordon connection, John Gordon of Haddo (ancestor of the Earls of Aberdeen) and George Gordon of Gight being at this time its most influential members. The Leslies were divided, but the Leiths, Urquharts, Johnstons, Setons, Abercrombies, and Elphinstones were Royalists. Royalist too were Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, with his considerable family connection and following, Sir Thomas Crombie of Kemnay, Turing of

Foveran, Udny of Udny, and the city family of Menzies of Pitfodels. In Banffshire the Ogilvies were Royalists at the earlier stages of the Troubles, and though Lord Findlater soon fell away, Sir George Ogilvie, afterwards Lord Banff, remained a leading member of the party. Huntly also carried with him the Highlanders of Badenoch and Lochaber, and his party had the support of the western Clan Donald. In the country beyond the Spey, however, almost the only prominent Royalists were Lord Reay and Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty. Generally speaking, the Scottish nobles, with very few exceptions, allied themselves with the Covenanters. The seventh Earl Marischal, then a very young man, had given assurances to the king but soon turned to the Covenant. The leader of the Aberdeenshire Covenanters was the Master of Forbes, who, in common with so many of his contemporaries, had seen service in the Thirty Years' War; and he was followed by nearly all the Forbes family, the notable exceptions being Dr John Forbes of Corse and Abraham Forbes of Blackton. Associated with the Forbeses were the Frasers and Crichtons. The Erskines, Barclays, and most of the Burnets were also Covenanters. The Earl of Erroll was a minor under the tutorship of the Earl of Kinghorn, by whom the administration of his estates was turned to the Covenanting interest. A versatile soldier of fortune on this side was Sir John Urrie or Hurry, of Pitfichie, in Monymusk.

The nobility, as represented by the Lords of Secret Council, having "turned their coats," in Spalding's homely phrase, by accepting the decisions of the Glasgow Assembly within a short time of their subscription of the King's Covenant, Charles declared the Scots in rebellion, sent a force against them by sea under the command of Hamilton, proceeded to raise an army in England which he was to accompany in person to the Border, and commissioned Huntly to organise

the Loyalists north of the Grampians, the Earl of Airlie, and Lords Douglas, Nithsdale, and Herries to co-operate in the centre and south of Scotland. The portents of coming civil war were passing over the country. The nobility had been recalling their cadets from the Continental wars, and the numerous body of soldiers of fortune began to flock homeward. By the influence of Rothes the task of organising an army to oppose the king and overthrow the ecclesiastical system was committed to Alexander Leslie, who had been born in humble circumstances, and returned from the Swedish service with the rank of field-marshal; and when Charles reached the Border with his army of undisciplined and discontented English levies, he found himself confronted by a well-equipped Scottish army commanded and stiffened by experienced soldiers.

In Aberdeen the military training of "fencible persons," which had been neglected in the quiet times, was systematically resumed a short time before the meeting of the Glasgow Assembly, and in January 1639, when it had become manifest to the municipal authorities that the distractions and divisions would end in bloodshed, a council of war was appointed and a body of officers commissioned under whom the fencible persons in the several quarters of the town were to serve, the general military command being conferred on Lieutenant-Colonel Johnston. Rumours of a projected attack on the city by the army under Montrose led to the issuing of orders for the construction of earthworks.

Both Royalists and Covenanters had been holding meetings in the county. A large muster of the Covenanters took place at Turriff on February 14, for the twofold object of raising funds and obtaining lists of possible recruits from each parish, and of consultation between the southern nobles and their Aberdeenshire and Banffshire allies. Montrose,

Kinghorn, Coupar, and others, with an escort, had crossed the Grampians without approaching Aberdeen, and from Lord Fraser's residence of Muchall-in-Mar had proceeded to Turriff, where the Forbeses and Crichtons, with bodies of the Marischal and Erroll tenantry and a contingent from Morayshire, were already assembled—in all, a force of about 800 men. The Royalists had been summoned to rendezvous in the neighbourhood of Turriff on the same day, with the intention, as would appear, of occupying the place and preventing the Covenanters from holding their meeting, and 2000 men, according to Spalding, responded to the call. In battle array but indifferently armed, they marched into the town; but the Covenanters, having heard of this countermove, were already in possession, and their arms were imposingly displayed along the walls of the churchyard. When Huntly, accompanied by Findlater and most of the prominent Cavaliers of the north-east, entered the town and saw how matters stood, they prudently passed on, the two parties surveying each other without hostile act or word. Some of the Royalists counselled attack, but Huntly replied that, having no warrant from the king, he would only act on the defensive if assailed. Such a futile reconnaissance, as the chroniclers of the Troubles remark, did little good to the royal cause, for it served as a parade before the keen eye of Montrose of the forces with which he had to reckon. One lesson which Huntly derived from it was that to cope with the Covenanters his men must be better armed and disciplined. Arms, to a certain extent, they were soon supplied with from a stock consigned to him in a king's ship, from which also the city magistrates purchased additional muskets, pikes, and ammunition.

The Royalists, now that Huntly was residing in Aberdeen, had complete control of the town, and citizens who had

signed the Covenant co-operated with the rest in the common defence. Even Provost Jaffray, whose loyalty had been impugned by some of his opponents, was afterwards declared by the unanimous voice of a head-court of the inhabitants, at the instance of Robert Johnston, his predecessor in the provostship and an unimpeachable Royalist, to have acquitted himself dutifully and honestly as a loyal subject and painstaking magistrate. That a Covenanter like John Lundie should have gone to Huntly's residence and subscribed the king's Covenant and Bond of Maintenance may be regarded as an indication of the pressure of public sentiment or other constraint.

When it became known that Montrose was coming north at the head of an army on the pretext of carrying out the "visitation" of King's College ordered by the Glasgow Assembly and to complete the overthrow of Episcopacy, the Doctors, who were still at their posts, took alarm and left the town. That such was Montrose's pretext had been elicited by a deputation sent to him by Huntly and the town to urge a suspension of proceedings until it should be seen if there might not be a treaty between the king and "the nobility." The deputation went a second time—George Jamesone, the painter, being one of the delegates from the town—to seek the good offices of Earl Marischal as they passed Dunnottar, and to urge the nobility to send their committee to visit the college and publish the acts of the Assembly with an escort of only a hundred men at most. To this proposal a temporising answer was returned by Montrose, to whom the deputation once more went back for the purpose of seeking an assurance that no hostility should be used against the town, and that none of its magistrates, ministers, or inhabitants should be "forced in their consciences or wronged in person or goods." To these representations Montrose gave a written

answer to the effect that his visit to Aberdeen was only to carry out the decisions of the Assembly as had been done in other places, and that no violence was intended unless it should be necessary for safety and the cause.[1] Huntly thereupon left Aberdeen to meet his party and followers at Inverurie, but Earl Findlater, "whom he chiefly expected," was absent; and after stating that he was practically unable to resist the large army coming from the south, especially having regard to the great assistance ready to meet it in Aberdeenshire, he disbanded his forces and retired to Strathbogie.

The city was thus left in a helpless plight. It had been depending on Huntly to lead in its defence, and he had retired from the struggle. It had been looking for assistance from the king, but none had arrived. Though there had been an appearance of unanimity while the preparations had been in progress, this new situation of affairs revived the old divisions and paralysed the Royalists. Many of them left the town. Sixty young men took ship at Torry to proceed to the king, and with them embarked Principal Leslie, Drs Baron, Sibbald, and Guild, Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum, Menzies of Pitfodels, and others. Dr John Forbes, Dr Scroggie, Bishop Bellenden, and the sub-principal and three of the regents of King's College, retired to the country.

Montrose with about 6000 men arrived at the Tollo Hill, near the Bridge of Dee, on the 29th of March 1639, and had an unopposed entry into the city on the 30th. He was accompanied by General Leslie, and by Marischal, Kinghorn, Coupar, Elcho, and others of the southern nobility. His ensign, inscribed with the motto, "For Religion, the Covenant, and the Country," and four other banners, were borne aloft as the Covenanter army slowly threaded its way by the Upper Kirkgate, the Broadgate, the Castlegate, and the

[1] Aberdeen Burgh Records, 1625-1642, pp. 151-154.

Justice Port to the Queen's Links, each soldier wearing a blue ribbon, each regiment of horse preceded by trumpeters, and each regiment of foot by drummers. To the Links also repaired the forces of the Aberdeenshire Covenanters, some 2000 strong. The reception of this army by the Aberdonians being the reverse of cordial, Montrose sent for Provost Jaffray and complained that the soldiers could get neither welcome nor food, and that extortion was being practised, directing him at the same time to have the trenches filled up without delay. Leaving Kinghorn with 1800 men in command of Aberdeen, Montrose with the rest of the army and its leaders proceeded to Inverurie; and on the following day, which was a Sunday, "strange ministers" occupied the Aberdeen pulpits and read the sentences on the bishops and the other decisions of the Assembly.

Demand after demand was made upon the citizens. They were required to dismount their cannon and place them in front of Earl Marischal's house, to deliver up their ammunition, to fortify the blockhouse for the defence of the port, to agree to the billeting of soldiers—the town council to provide payment in the first instance—and to sign the Covenant with an additional article abjuring Episcopacy and declaring the holding of civil offices by the clergy to be unlawful. The town "took time to be advised before giving its answer" to the last requirement; to the others it submitted at once, as being "under bondage and thraldom for the present and nowise able to resist." A further demand was that the town should pay an indemnity or contribution of 100,000 merks, together with the entire cost of the soldiers since they had come to Aberdeen, the citizens who were Covenanters to be exempt from these payments. This demand was rejected as unreasonable and beyond the power of the town. "If the noblemen"—so runs the missive of the town council on behalf

of the citizens—"insist to have the said taxation, they desire a competent time, a month or thereby, to be granted them to remove themselves and their wives and bairns, with bag and baggage, out of the town, and thereafter let the noblemen dispose of the town at their pleasure."[1]

After Montrose's meeting with the Aberdeenshire Covenanters at Inverurie a conference, ostensibly of a friendly nature, took place between him and Huntly, who was afterwards induced to visit Aberdeen and was entertained by the nobility at their headquarters in "Skipper Anderson's house." Several demands were then made upon him, in response to which he agreed to resign his lieutenancy and contribute to the cost of the army; but to another demand he pleaded that, having resigned his commission, he could do nothing against the outlaws Grant and Dugar, and he absolutely refused reconciliation with Frendraught. By this time he found himself a prisoner. It was vain to plead that he had come to Aberdeen under assurances from Montrose, and that he had been made a prisoner by unfair and dishonourable means. With his eldest son he had to accompany the nobles to Edinburgh. Offered his liberty on condition of accepting the Covenant, he replied that he was not so bad a merchant as to buy liberty at the cost of conscience, fidelity, and honour, and that he would not join in rebellion under a pretence of religion. "For my own part," he said, in the spirit of his answer to Monro, "I am in your power, but resolved not to leave the name of traitor to my posterity: you may take my head from my shoulders, but not my heart from my sovereign."[2] During his imprisonment the leadership devolved on his second son, Lord Aboyne, who had been allowed to go to Strathbogie for money when his father went south, and was persuaded

[1] Burgh Records, p. 157.

[2] Spalding, vol. i. p. 179.

by Banff and other chief men of the party to remain among them.

Meanwhile the work of enforcing acceptance of the Covenant was carried on, under menace of plundering, by Marischal, Seaforth, Fraser, and the Master of Forbes. Both Covenanters and Royalists made requisitions for the support of their troops, and the system of raiding inseparable from such warfare began to be carried on with unrelenting severity. Strachan of Glenkindie, "a great Covenanter," plundered Donald Farquharson of Tillygarmonth, Huntly's bailie in Strathaven, and Farquharson retaliated by a foray on Earl Marischal's Deeside territory, and by taking possession of Durris belonging to Forbes of Leslie. Montrose himself had allowed his troopers to forage in Kemnay as they returned from Inverurie, and a company of 500 Highlanders sent by Argyll to join him at this time was ordered to "sorn" upon the lands of the Royalist lairds of Drum and Pitfodels.

Shortly after the deportation of Huntly a gathering of Covenanters was held at Monymusk, attended by a commissioner from Aberdeen and eighty men; and one on a greater scale was to take place at Turriff. On reports that Aboyne was calling the Royalists to arms, however, the Turriff meeting was postponed, and a force of about 2000 men having responded to his call, he sent representations to Earl Marischal, as Governor of Aberdeen, that it should be abandoned. The reply of Marischal showed that the nobility were determined to persevere with their resolution to bring the two counties into line with the rest of Scotland. In this situation of affairs, cut off as he was from communication with the king, Aboyne shrank, as his father had done, from the responsibility of entering on a war. By their unaided exertions, it was evident, the north-eastern Royalists could not prevail against the power of practically the whole body of the

Scottish nobles. So he disbanded his force, and sailed from the Banffshire coast to consult with the king and his advisers.

Disappointed though they were at this turn of affairs, the Cavaliers of the north-east resolved to keep the field. Their first demonstration took place at Towie-Barclay, where some arms taken from Sir Thomas Urquhart had been stored, but the house was successfully held by the Covenanters. The Turriff meeting was to take place on May 20, but by the 13th the Covenanters, 1200 strong, were already in possession. At nightfall the Gordons and their allies from Central and Western Aberdeenshire, Ogilvie of Banff with a party, and Colonel Johnston with a number of the Huntly retainers and four field-pieces from Strathbogie, quietly assembled in the neighbourhood, and as daybreak approached they entered the town with a sudden blast of trumpets and drums (May 14). Some volleys of musket-shot had been exchanged when one or two discharges of the cannon threw the Covenanters into a panic and put them to flight—Skene of Skene and Forbes of Echt, who had more nerve or less swiftness than the rest, being taken prisoners by the Cavaliers. Such was the "Trot of Turriff," as it was called, a harmless and indeed ridiculous beginning of civil war in the north-east. Following up their bloodless victory, the Cavaliers rode to Aberdeen on the following day, and, improving on the example that had been set by Montrose, demanded free quarters for themselves and their men in the houses of the Covenanters. To this demand the citizens, at a general meeting convened by Provost Jaffray, resolved to reply that, being "members of one body and incorporation," they would equally share all burdens, it being understood that this principle applied likewise to the exactions already imposed by Huntly and Montrose. Another demand was for men for the king's service, and to this the answer was that so many had gone to foreign countries, while

some were in the king's service already, that those remaining in the town were too few for its defence in such dangerous times. Similar demands by the Covenanters for aid to "the cause" in Edinburgh, and for the transference of the Aberdeen artillery to the town of Montrose, had met with no better response. A practical sense of the costs of political steadfastness had been borne in upon the citizens, who now desired above everything to be let alone — both by the southern nobility, who for their own ends were working with the Covenanters, and by the north-eastern Royalists, who, however strong in the two counties, were clearly the weaker party if the issue was to be a national one and was to be fought out by the sword.

An effort to come to terms with Earl Marischal was barren of fruit, for the earl was dominated by stronger wills than his own, and Montrose was immediately on the scene at the head of a force of 6000 or 7000 men. On the approach of this army the Royalist leaders disbanded their men and left Aberdeen, their departure being immediately followed by the pillaging of the bishop's palace, and the destruction of the corn and "girnals," or meal-stores, of the Royalists near the city. Spalding also mentions a slaughter of dogs, because waggish Royalists had decorated them with blue (Covenanting) ribbons.

Having regard to the strength of the army now brought against them, and the prospect of its being largely reinforced from beyond the Spey, several of the Royalists, deeming further resistance hopeless, followed Aboyne's example, and put to sea from Doune (Macduff) in order to go to the king at Berwick. On the way, however, they met and returned with a convoy of royal ships coming north with Aboyne, now commissioned as king's lieutenant, Irvine of Drum, the Earls of Tullibardine and Glencairn, and several

of the Episcopalian clergy who had gone south as refugees, one of them being John Gregory of Drumoak. The ships had also military stores on board, and the king had ordered that soldiers should be sent, but Hamilton, who was in command of the fleet in the Firth of Forth, declared himself unable to send them at the time. A vessel southward-bound with the cannon which the citizens had been obliged to surrender on the return of the Covenanting nobility was intercepted by Aboyne, and brought back to Aberdeen.

The arrival of these ships once more changed the aspect of affairs, and Montrose, who had begun a siege of the House of Gight, hastened south for reinforcements. Aboyne reoccupied the town with a force at first consisting mainly of 1000 predatory caterans, who had arrived by way of Deeside under the nominal command of his boy-brother, Lord Lewis Gordon; but in a short time the recently disbanded men returned to the royal standard, so that he had in all a force of about 4000. With ill-directed energy he committed the provost and his son to prison, and otherwise acted with a high hand. It was probably under a sense of the necessity that spoliatory warfare should be in prospect if his Highlanders were to be kept together, that he started on an expedition into the Covenanters' territory of the Mearns. As military expert and chief of the staff, a Colonel Gun had been sent with him from the royal headquarters. Gun was a bad exchange for Johnston, and a fiasco resembling the Trot of Turriff soon put an end to this expedition. When it reached Megray Hill, near Stonehaven, it was met by a Covenanting force, which in turn began to play upon it with artillery (June 15). A few shots broke up the Highlanders and sent them in disorderly flight towards the hills, and they returned home with such spoil as they could pick up by

the way, especially on Marischal's Strachan estate. Aboyne retired towards Aberdeen with the more reliable part of his army, and prepared to defend the Bridge of Dee. He was closely followed by Montrose, who, after encamping for a short time at the Covenanters' Faulds, as the place was afterwards called, overlooking the bridge, proceeded to open fire on the Royalists and the earthworks by which they had fortified their position. For a whole day (June 18) a cannonade and musketry fire were continued with little effect, and operations were resumed next morning. By a feint of crossing the river at a point some little distance above the bridge, Montrose lured away a large portion of the defending force, and then by a vigorous attack overwhelmed the weakened defence of the bridge itself. The town, again at the mercy of the Covenanters and their able commander, escaped pillage on payment of a fine of 7000 merks. Montrose was urged by some of those about him to give effect to the orders of the Tables for its destruction, but, having no taste for such barbarity, he first temporised, and then, fortifying himself by a written guarantee of indemnity from Marischal and Fraser, he refused to yield to these sinister counsels.

The Pacification of Berwick gave a shortlived respite from the alternate oppressions of Royalists and Covenanters; but the meetings of the Assembly and the Parliament, with their confirmation of the abolition of Episcopacy, were soon followed by the resumption of the war. In the spring of 1640 Earl Marischal exacted a so-called "loan" from the citizens of all their gold and silver work and coined money for the Covenanters' war-chest; while towards the end of May General Monro arrived with about 1000 men, and imposed the "Articles of Bon-Accord," by which the town was bound to furnish supplies on an extensive scale for the army. Re-

cruits were impressed for service in General Leslie's expedition to England; an instrument of torture called "the wooden mare" was employed for the punishment of recalcitrants, and requisitioning in its severest form was again directed against the Royalists of Aberdeenshire. Drum and other residences were besieged; Monro himself took possession of Strathbogie Castle, and cleared the district round it of men, money, horses, and arms, and the towns of Banff and Peterhead were occupied. For outstanding against "the good cause" Irvine of Drum and Gordon of Haddo, with many country gentlemen and burgesses, were arrested and sent in custody to Edinburgh. One of the prisoners was Sir George Gordon of Gight, but as he was dying his liberation took place soon after their arrival in Edinburgh. Most of the other prisoners were kept in the Tolbooth for six months, and then set free on payment of heavy fines. One of them was Jamesone, who had painted the portraits of Rothes, Montrose, Marischal, Kinghorn, and most of the northern chiefs of the party in power, and Spalding records that "by moyan he wan free and paid no fine."

During Monro's occupation of Aberdeen the General Assembly met in Greyfriars' Church and deposed the Doctors, Archdeacon Logie, John Gregory, and other clergymen. It also conferred the benefit of Andrew Cant's ministrations upon the congregation of St Nicholas' by appointing him one of the city ministers. Gregory was treated with exceptional harshness, being taken from his bed at night by a party of Monro's troopers, and closely secluded in Skipper Anderson's house. The universities had already been "visited," and their anti-Covenanting professors removed from office. The principalship of King's College, from which Dr Leslie had been ousted, was conferred upon Dr Guild, who had returned from exile, made his peace with

the prevailing powers, and displayed the zeal of a turncoat, —to be ousted in turn by General Monk and the Commonwealth as too much of a Royalist. The Snow Church and the bishop's house were demolished by the new principal, the stones of the church being used to build "the college-yard dyke" and the windows of his own house; and destruction of churches and their "ornaments" was again in fashion. Guild is more favourably remembered as the great benefactor of the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen, to which he gifted the Trinity monastery and chapel for a hospital and meeting-house. These properties he had acquired by purchase some years before the Troubles began.

The north-eastern Royalists gradually succumbed to the pressure that was forcing the Covenant upon them. On his liberation at the Peace of Berwick Huntly went abroad for a time, and Lord Gordon, on the advice of his uncle, Argyll, subscribed and made his peace with the Covenanters. Requisitions were imposed on the counties for the supply of provisions for the Scottish army occupying the north of England, and 12,000 bolls of oatmeal had to be shipped for Newcastle in 1641 at the Aberdeenshire and Banffshire ports. The contribution of the town of Aberdeen was in clothing. Men were also in request, and 100 recruits from the Gordon estates were directed by Earl Marischal to proceed to Morpeth, but when they reached Edinburgh their uncouth appearance so little commended them to the Committee of the Estates that it sent them home again as "unworthy soldiers."

Meanwhile Montrose had parted company with Argyll and the extreme Covenanters, and as a signatory of the Cumbernauld Bond and an alleged plotter against Argyll, he now suffered imprisonment at the instance of his former associates. For a time he withdrew from public affairs, but in

the early days of the English Civil War we find him at Kelly in consultation with Marischal, who was also inclined to dissociate himself from the extreme party, and with Gordon of Haddo, Ogilvie of Banff, and others of his former opponents.

Sir John Gordon of Haddo, who had a strong dislike for Covenanters, resented the incarceration of one of his servants by Alexander Jaffray, the younger, in the exercise of magisterial functions in Aberdeen, and meeting Jaffray and his brother at Kintore, he gave them a line of his mind and a thrust with his sword, following up this action by a foolish parade at the Cross of Aberdeen. On the suit of the Jaffrays the Privy Council imposed on him a fine of 20,000 merks. When hostilities broke out again in 1644 one of his first acts was to ride to Aberdeen with a party of his friends and about 60 horse, seize the four most prominent Covenanting laymen—Provost Patrick Leslie, Robert Farquhar, and Alexander and John Jaffray—and lodge them in the cells of Strathbogie Castle, whence they were transferred to Auchindoun.

The enforcement of the international Solemn League and Covenant and the alliance of the Scottish Convention with the English Parliament revived the struggle in these counties. Dr John Forbes, who wished to live at peace with the Presbyterians, left the country when acceptance of this Covenant was made compulsory; Robert Burnet of Crimond, the father of Bishop Burnet, followed the same course. Huntly called his men to arms, but on the approach of forces from Fife and Argyle he retired from the strife in despair. His heir and the Banffshire Ogilvies were now acting with the Covenanters, and being excommunicated along with Montrose, the marquis took refuge in the obscurity of Strathnaver. Sir John Gordon of Haddo and John Logie, son of the archdeacon, were captured, conveyed to Edinburgh, and

beheaded — the first victims of the political vengeance of the Covenanters (July 19, 1644).

Montrose, now raised to the marquisate and appointed the king's Lieutenant-General for Scotland, with a fluctuating army of plunder-loving Highlanders, opened his wonderful campaign by defeating Lord Elcho at Tippermuir, near Perth (September 1). Gathering recruits from the Braes of Angus, he hastened on towards Aberdeen, crossed the Dee at Mills of Drum, and encamped at the Two-mile Cross, from which he despatched a letter to the local authorities notifying that "being there for the maintenance of religion and liberty and his Majesty's just authority and service," he demanded the immediate surrender of the town, failing which, he advised all old men, women, and children to leave, as no quarter would be shown. The committee of the Covenanters resolved to resist him, and Montrose advanced towards the town (September 13). He was met by Lord Burleigh and the Aberdeenshire Covenanters with nearly 3000 men, his own force being little more than half that number. An encounter took place at the Justice Mills, near the scene of the Crabstane skirmish. It lasted two hours, and was not deadly until the Covenanters began to give way before their skilful opponent. Then followed a disorderly rout, in which about 150 of the Covenanters fell, and the town was given over to rapine and violence. Montrose had saved it on previous occasions, but his present army was differently composed, and could not be restrained from plunder. Spalding records, in illustration of the savagery of Montrose's "Irish," that seeing a man well clad, they would first strip him to save the clothes, and then put him to death![1]

From Aberdeen the victorious leader passed to Strath-

[1] Spalding, vol. ii. pp. 406, 407. Cf. Burgh Records, 1643-1747, pp. 28, 29.

bogie in the hope of enlisting the co-operation of Huntly, but the marquis was nowhere to be found, and without him all appeals to the loyalty and patriotism of his people were vain. Argyll had been ravaging Aberdeenshire and planting on Deeside a body of his Highland and Irish soldiery, who were called "the Cleansers," from the thoroughness with which they stripped the country of everything that could be consumed or taken away, and now he retired for the winter to his own country. Thither Montrose unexpectedly followed him, and inflicted the sharp defeat at Inverlochy. Montrose's motions were swift, and to his opponents bewildering. Early in spring he surprised the town of Dundee. In May, when he had been joined by Lord Gordon (who had now left the Covenanters) and Lord Aboyne, he was attacked by Urrie at the head of a superior force at Auldearn, where a blunder of one of Urrie's subordinates enabled him to carry the day with the rush and claymores of the Highlanders. But as usual, the greater part of his army melted away after the battle, and for a time he had to evade General Baillie, who had hastened through West Aberdeenshire to the assistance of the Covenanting force.

Having collected his men again to the number of about 2000, Montrose took up his position on the rising ground near the village of Alford, and with Lords Gordon and Aboyne in command of small bodies of horse on the right and left respectively, the centre consisting mainly of the Gordon tenants and vassals, he awaited the attack of the Covenanters. There was no great disparity of numbers, but Baillie had the advantage in cavalry with Lord Balcarres's strong regiment. A stiffly-contested battle resulted in another important success for the Royalist cause (July 2), won, however, at the cost of Lord Gordon's life. With the further victory at Kilsyth the Royalist cause seemed destined to

triumph in Scotland. Montrose, in his desire to raise a reliable Lowland army, offended the Highland leaders, and General David Leslie, who had been sent in haste from England to check the rising tide of Royalism, achieved his signal victory at Philiphaugh.

The spell was now broken. Montrose retired to the north to reorganise his forces, and tried earnestly to enlist the co-operation of Huntly. Huntly, however, had not forgotten or forgiven the treachery that led to his imprisonment, and was not cordial in his response to the overtures, but presently he took the field in person.

General Middleton, commissioned by the Estates to watch Huntly and Montrose, passed through the two shires in April on his way to Inverness, which Montrose was besieging, and when he had crossed the Spey the Aberdeenshire Royalists were mustered by Huntly at Inverurie and Kintore to the number of 1500 foot and 500 horse. After repulsing Colonel Hew Montgomerie, who had been left in command and had gone out to reconnoitre, the Royalists advanced towards the city. They attacked simultaneously at three points (May 14), and Aboyne, getting entrance at a part which had been set on fire, routed Montgomerie's cavalry, the thinned ranks of which escaped by swimming the Dee. The infantry took refuge in the Tolbooth and in the residences of Marischal and Menzies of Pitfodels, but soon had to surrender, and 350 prisoners, 16 colours, and a large quantity of ammunition fell into Huntly's hands.

But Charles had surrendered himself to the Scottish army at Newark, and his orders immediately reached Aberdeen calling on Huntly to lay down his arms. Never was conclusion of peace more welcome than it was at this time to the sorely-tried citizens of Bon-Accord. Aberdeen had

suffered grievously by the Troubles. Its trade had fallen off, its population had been thinned, and it had been subjected to intolerable exactions by its successive military masters.

The dark sequel belongs for the most part to general history. Charles's "Engagement" with the Scottish commissioners added greatly to the number of Scottish Royalists. Huntly laid down his arms, but he had an implacable foe in Argyll—none the less implacable that Charles had come to terms with the more moderate of the Scottish nobility. The reward that had been offered years before for his body, living or dead, was still held out. His sons retired to France, and he himself went afresh into hiding. Betrayed at last at Delnabo, in Upper Banffshire, he was led to the block in Edinburgh a few weeks after Charles had similarly perished in London. Montrose, who had reluctantly laid down his arms at the king's command and retired to Norway, returned, with Sir John Urrie, now turned Royalist, for one of his lieutenants, to fight the battles of Charles II. His fate, however, was defeat and betrayal, and to be conveyed in ignominy through these counties, and beheaded in Edinburgh without fresh trial.

CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES II. AND THE COVENANT—HIS LANDING AT SPEYMOUTH AND VISIT TO ABERDEEN — PROVOST JAFFRAY — ARRIVAL OF GENERAL MONK—RULE OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE—ENFORCEMENT OF TOLERATION—DIVISIONS AMONG THE PRESBYTERIANS—CANT'S HOSTILITY TO THE EPISCOPALIANS—THE RESTORATION IN ABERDEEN—REVIVAL OF EPISCOPACY — FLIGHT AND DEPOSITION OF CANT — ARCHBISHOP SHARP — THE SYNOD OF ABERDEEN UNANIMOUS FOR EPISCOPACY — BISHOP SCOUGAL REVIVES THE BRIGHT TRADITIONS OF ABERDEEN EPISCOPACY — THE PENAL LAWS AGAINST NONCONFORMITY AND CONVENTICLES — HARSH MEASURES AGAINST THE ABERDEEN QUAKERS—DISTINCTIVE POSITION OF THE TWO COUNTIES MAINLY ECCLESIASTICAL —THE FIRST EARL OF ABERDEEN — THE DUKE OF GORDON'S MILD OPPOSITION TO THE REVOLUTION — VISCOUNT DUNDEE IN ABERDEENSHIRE — COLLAPSE OF JACOBITE RESISTANCE AFTER KILLIECRANKIE—ONLY ONE PRESBYTERIAN MINISTER IN THE TWO SHIRES—RESISTANCE IN ABERDEEN TO THE PRESBYTERIAN COMMISSION OF "VISITATION"—THE PROVOST IMPRISONED — DIVISION IN THE TOWN COUNCIL — THE NORTH-EASTERN CLERGY GENERALLY TAKE THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE —GRADUAL EXTENSION OF PRESBYTERIANISM—THE NON-JURORS—THE "RABBLING OF DEER"—DEPRIVATIONS AFTER THE REBELLION OF 1715 —PERSECUTION AND CLOSE OF NON-JURANCY.

ABERDEEN was represented in the Parliament of 1649 by Provost Alexander Jaffray the younger, who was one of the commissioners sent over to Holland to treat with and bring home the young king. In his Diary he records how his conscience afterwards smote him because he took part in making Charles sign and swear to a Covenant which he did not himself believe in, but with regard to which he had allowed himself to be overborne by "gracious and

holy men," one of whom we may suppose to be his imperious father-in-law, Andrew Cant. Charles landed at the mouth of the Spey on June 23, 1650, accompanied by the commissioners and a few of the Scottish Royalists, and after resting at Huntly's castles of Bog of Gight and Strathbogie—both at this time under the control of Argyll—and at Pitcaple, he arrived on the 28th in Aberdeen, where he was received with every manifestation of loyalty and goodwill. The first sight that met his eyes from the residence provided for him in the Castlegate, was the part of Montrose's dismembered body which had been sent for exhibition outside the Tolbooth. Its burial within the church of St Nicholas must have been by his orders or through his influence.

From Aberdeen the prince passed on to Dunnottar and to his coronation at Scone. Cromwell was soon in Scotland, fought his battle of Dunbar, and was master of the country. Among the prisoners taken at Dunbar was Provost Jaffray, who before his release had much intercourse with the Protector himself, and with Dr Owen and other Puritans, from whom he derived ideas differing much from those of the conflicting parties in Scotland. General Monk, with the forces of the Commonwealth, entered Aberdeen on September 7, 1651. Bishop Burnet, who "remembered well" the coming of the Cromwellian regiments, tells us that there was an order and discipline and a face of gravity among them that amazed all people; that they were gifted men, Independents and Anabaptists, who "preached as they were moved," and never disturbed the public assemblies in the churches but once, when they reproached the preachers with laying things to their charge that were false. The debate on that occasion grew very fierce, and swords were drawn, but no hurt was done; yet Cromwell displaced the governor

of the town for not punishing this breach of order.[1] When he was approaching the town, an assurance was given by the English commander that it should be free from all danger of a repetition of the plunderings of which it had such unpleasant recollections; and in view of the hardships it had suffered during the preceding dozen years, he agreed not to exact a contribution of £12,000 Scots which had been imposed for its acts against the Commonwealth. The English garrison remained in Aberdeen till 1659, and it appears to have lived in harmonious relations with the citizens. The worst that is remembered against it is the removal of the stone buttresses of the cathedral to build a fort on the Castle Hill, whereby the great tower was so weakened that it afterwards fell. A month after his entrance into the city General Monk further dealt with the Covenanters by sending an order to the provost that any person either tendering or taking an oath or covenant would be dealt with as an enemy of the Commonwealth. Full protection was given to Aberdeen and Banff along with the other Scottish burghs, and Aberdeen, when it sent its representative to the United Parliament, was enjoying a measure of freedom and security which it had never before possessed.

Freedom of conscience was not only proclaimed in edicts but practically enforced in action. The Presbytery of Aberdeen called upon Sir Alexander Irvine of Drum to subscribe the Covenant. Irvine replied in a letter to the moderator, reflecting severely upon the conduct of the Presbyterians, who, he said, had cried out against the tyranny of the bishops towards some ministers refractory to Episcopacy, but on getting into power had themselves usurped the authority of popes. He protested against the sentence of excommunica-

[1] Burnet, History of His Own Time, p. 38 (1883 ed.)

tion pronounced by the presbytery against him as null both in its spiritual and in its temporal character, and summoned his opponents to appear before Colonel Overton or any other judge who should be appointed by the English commissioners. In another letter he complained of the persecution of himself and his family on account of his appeal to Colonel Overton, "wherein," he says, "I imitated St Paul, who appealed from the cruelty of the Pharisees to Cæsar, a civil judge and no Christian."[1] The case became notorious in England as an illustration of the illegitimate pretensions and persecuting spirit of the Presbyterians. A similar appeal to Cæsar was made by Principal Row of King's College, John Menzies, professor of divinity in Marischal College, and John Seton, minister at Old Aberdeen, who were proceeded against for Independency; and they procured an injunction from the military commandant ordering the presbytery to desist from pressing them. The kirk-session had some difficulty in getting a servant of Sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels to appear before it to give an account of his religious profession, and when he came he refused to recognise its authority and "carried himself uncivilly and upbraidingly, thanking God that the times were not as formerly." Menzies himself had previously informed two members of the session who were sent to him that he had nothing to do with them. The spirit of toleration was enforced by the military authorities, and men of all classes availed themselves of its shelter.

The national division of the Presbyterians into Resolutioners and Remonstrants, the former favouring the Engagement to assist Charles I. and the latter protesting against such tolerance, had its local reflex in Aberdeen due to Cant's "novations," especially in regard to the communion, from

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. iii. pp. 205-207 and xviii, xix.

which he wished to exclude "ordinary sleepers in time of sermon," Sabbath-breakers, malignants, and a long category of persons defective in conduct or belief. The town council and others opposed the regulations promulgated by Cant as admitting "only such as in a Pharisaical way offer themselves to be tried by him." The question was carried through kirk-session, presbytery, and synod, until during the deliberations of the last-mentioned body a Cromwellian officer entered and peremptorily commanded it "to desist from meddling any more in that business."[1]

For twenty years before the Restoration the strong-willed, energetic, and intolerant personality of Andrew Cant had ruled the presbytery. The town council, representing apparently the prevailing sentiment of the citizens, nominated John Paterson, minister of Ellon, and afterwards Bishop of Ross, for one of the ministerial charges in Aberdeen. The nomination was vehemently opposed by Cant on the plea that as patronage and presentations to churches had been abolished by an Act of the Estates in 1649, the kirk-session had "a special interest with the people in the nomination, calling, and electing of their ministers." The matter remained in abeyance for some years, and when it came up again there were two appointments to be made. Paterson and George Meldrum, regent in Marischal College, having been nominated by the council, Cant and the session at once agreed to the appointment of Meldrum, but Cant resisted to the utmost the proposal as to Paterson. Professor Menzies argued in favour of the call, and after a long debate Cant abruptly left the meeting. The question went on appeal to the synod, to which it was reported that the council's action had the support of the congregation and community, and that a meeting

[1] Aberdeen Ecclesiastical Records, Spalding Club, pp. 120, 128, 129, 232, 233.

of many hundreds of people was unanimously in favour of it with the exception of Cant. The synod, where Cant never had such influence as he exercised in the presbytery, sustained the call, and though he sent commissioners to oppose it before the Presbytery of Ellon his opposition entirely failed. Deprived of the co-operation of the "civil arm" his influence had waned, and the fortunes of the Episcopal party, to which Paterson belonged, were again in the ascendant.

The Restoration was received in Aberdeen, in the words of the town council record, as an exceeding great matter of rejoicing. A representative of the city, Baillie Gilbert Mollyson, had been among those with whom Monk took counsel at Dalkeith before he went to London to make his pronouncement and prepare for the return of Charles; and the public jubilations on the king's arrival in England were in strong contrast with the sombre aspect of the town during its long period of oppression by domestic factions and restraint by the English army. After thanksgiving sermons by Paterson and Menzies—the old church "all hung over with tapestry"—there was a general procession to the market cross, where wine and confections were provided for all classes, the town resounding with clanging of bells, firing of guns, and the music of trumpets and drums.

The nobles and lesser barons who had been Covenanters in the days of Charles I. were for the most part Royalists now. They had been of little account politically during the Protectorate; and for this reason they welcomed a change that promised them the recovery of their former influence. Even before the advent of Cromwell some of them, and notably the Earl Marischal, had revolted from the developments of Presbyterianism and the ascendancy of Argyll. Marischal had been custodian of the regalia in the perilous days that followed the Coronation, had been captured at the Alyth

Convention of Royalist leaders, and had spent the greater part of the Cromwellian period as a prisoner in the Tower of London. At the Restoration his services and those of his family to the royal cause, and in the matter of the regalia, were recognised and rewarded by the elevation of his brother, Sir John Keith, to the Earldom of Kintore.

There was one man in Aberdeen who witnessed these demonstrations, and the drift of events, with bitterness of soul. Certain burgesses having on the day of the rejoicings seized and destroyed a copy of Samuel Rutherford's "treasonable and seditious book," which had been printed abroad, and was being surreptitiously circulated under the title of 'Lex Rex,' but without the author's name, Andrew Cant delivered a vehement sermon in vindication of the book and its author, and "did most unchristianly utter curses and imprecations" against these burgesses. On the town council taking proceedings upon their complaint, he fled for refuge to his son, the minister of Liberton, afterwards Episcopalian principal of the University of Edinburgh. After a time, however, he returned to Aberdeen, where he was put on trial before his co-presbyters, and deposed from the ministry. No one had been more high-handed and overbearing in the day of his power, when he had the military resources of Argyll and the extreme party of the nobles behind him. His rigidity in the matter of Church discipline had been the terror of sinners great and small, and his word had carried weight with the rulers of the land in the Covenanting days, but he suffered in the end that sentence of deposition which he had taken part in visiting upon the Doctors.

Not the least contribution of these counties to Scottish ecclesiastical history is found in James Sharp, son of the Sheriff-Clerk of Banffshire, student of King's College in the days of the Doctors, Presbyterian minister, regent of St

Leonard's College, Archbishop of St Andrews, and primate of Scotland. Sharp was one of the Royalists made prisoners by Monk's troopers at Alyth, and he won a high reputation as a diplomatist by his success in pleading with Cromwell the cause of the Resolutioners or Broad party, which led to his being sent to London again when Monk had performed his *coup d'état*, to urge that the "sinful" toleration established by the Commonwealth should be stopped, the freedom of the church judicatories restored, and ministers' stipends rightly applied and increased. During the critical time of decision between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism he went to London and Breda to negotiate with Monk and the king; and when he afterwards conformed to Episcopacy, and accepted the archbishopric, he was accused of betraying the Presbyterian cause. Sharp was not of sensitive nature, and by his acceptance of the highest office under the system he had been sent to oppose he subjected his conduct to sinister construction. The first day of 1661 saw the assembling of the Parliament, presided over, as royal commissioner, by the Kincardineshire soldier now ennobled as Earl Middleton, which passed the Act Rescissory sweeping from the Statute-book all legislation since 1633, and the accompanying Act empowering the king to settle the ecclesiastical polity of Scotland. Sharp, as a royal chaplain, preached before the Parliament on coronation day, and immediately afterwards accompanied Chancellor Glencairn and Rothes, President of the Council and son of the covenanting earl, to London, from which they returned with the king's proclamation re-establishing Episcopacy. Before this took place the synods in the south of Scotland had taken their stand against prelacy, but from the north of the Tay there was no voice of opposition to the impending change. Many of the older ministers had been educated under the Doctors, and had never been zealous Covenanters.

The Synod of Aberdeen met in King's College Chapel with fifty-four ministers in attendance, and unanimously voted an address to the Commissioner and Parliament, expressing their deep sorrow and regret for the national sin and their own guilt, in so far as they were accessory to the rebellious opposition to the late and the present king, and petitioning his majesty to settle the ecclesiastical government according to the Word of God and the practice of the ancient primitive Church. The cue and even the words of the statute accompanying the Act Rescissory were followed in this document, which, as Dr Grub observes, expressed the real sentiments of the majority of the numerous body by which it was drawn up, who "had submitted to a system which they believed not to be positively unlawful, but for which they entertained no affection."[1]

While these transactions were being carried out, the attainders on Huntly, Sir John Gordon, and Montrose were annulled, and Argyll was tried and executed for high treason. It was in November 1661 that Sharp was nominated to the see of St Andrews. John Paterson of Aberdeen became Bishop of Ross; Patrick Forbes, son of the exiled minister of Alford and nephew of the great bishop, was the new Bishop of Caithness; and to the see of Aberdeen was appointed David Mitchell, a Kincardineshire man, who had been a friend of Bishop William Forbes, censured by the Covenanters at the Glasgow Assembly, a refugee in Holland earning his living as a watchmaker, and latterly had gained a position for himself in England, where he had been made a Doctor of Divinity of Oxford and a prebendary of Westminster. The preacher at Holyrood Abbey, when a number

[1] Grub, Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. iii. pp. 181, 182. Cf. Burnet, History of His Own Time.

of the bishops were consecrated, was James Gordon, parson of Drumblade in Aberdeenshire, which county in many ways had a prominent part in the restoration of Episcopacy.

From Bishop Mitchell's first diocesan synod only nine ministers were absent—some of these by reason of sickness and old age. The only important outstanders from the subscription to the promise of canonical obedience were Professor John Menzies and George Meldrum, minister of St Nicholas', and after a short period of suspension from their offices they conformed with the rest. Mitchell's episcopate terminated with his death in little more than a year, and that of Dr Alexander Burnet, who succeeded him, was rendered still briefer by his translation to the archbishopric of Glasgow. Patrick Scougal, minister of Saltoun, in East Lothian, who had been a *protégé* of Archbishop Spottiswoode but kept his benefice when Presbyterianism came in, was the next bishop. Scougal's rule was mild and exemplary on the whole; and if his measures of repression against the Quakers cannot be justified, it has to be remembered to his credit that his latest public service was to oppose the Test, with the result that it underwent important mitigation.

Aberdeen was again fortunate in its clergy. Henry Scougal, son of the bishop, left behind him the brightest of memories as a saintly and ideal minister. At the age of twenty-two he was ordained at Auchterless, and in the following year the autumn synod nominated him to the professorship of divinity in King's College. After hesitation and delay he accepted the appointment, and became a worthy successor of Dr John Forbes. During his lifetime—he died at the early age of twenty-eight—his work on 'The Life of God in the Soul of Man,' which is still prized by the devout of different

denominations, was first published by the celebrated Gilbert Burnet, afterwards Bishop of Sarum.[1] There were other clergymen of note under Scougal's episcopate. Dr George Garden, one of the ministers of Aberdeen and editor of the works of Dr John Forbes, and his brother Dr James Garden, professor of divinity in King's College, cultivated a mystical and reflective theology. Both were deposed when Presbyterianism was restored, but Dr George Garden continued to minister as an Episcopalian clergyman.

The repressive measures by which the Government and the Episcopate made themselves odious in the south and west of Scotland did not operate so obnoxiously in the north-east, where the prevailing sentiment was favourable to the political and ecclesiastical order now established. Thus the Act of "The Drunken Parliament" of 1662, declaring vacant all churches where the incumbent had not obtained episcopal collation, did not touch a diocese in which Episcopacy was received with practical unanimity, though elsewhere it led to 350 ministers abandoning their benefices and taking most of their congregations with them. The Act compelling attendance at the parish church had more relevance to the situation of affairs in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire from its bearing upon the Roman Catholics, of whom there were considerable numbers in both counties, and on the Quakers, who were more numerous in Aberdeen and its neighbourhood than anywhere else in Scotland. To the same type of legislation belong the Acts imposing heavy penalties on holders of Conventicles and persons "intercommuning" with them. To its own hurt the Church relied on and invoked the "arm of flesh," which at this time

[1] The latest edition, with a biography of the author by Professor Cooper, appeared in 1892. Cf. Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists, by Rev. D. Butler. 1899.

freely applied the boot and thumbscrew, hanged misbelievers, and transported many of the able-bodied for slavery at the plantations. These counties were entirely beyond the range of the insurrections of the "wild Westland Whigs"; they had no part in the fight of Rullion Green, in the overrunning of the south-western counties by the marauding "Highland Host," in the assassination of Archbishop Sharp as the "Judas" who had betrayed Presbyterianism, and the inspirer, as was supposed, of the repressive policy, or in the affairs of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge. For a time, indeed, the Kincardineshire stronghold of Earl Marischal —so were times changed—furnished in its "Whigs' Vault" a prison in which a large number of Covenanters brought north from Edinburgh were immured pending their acceptance of the oaths or transportation to America.

But Aberdeenshire was not wholly without a share in the persecutions that unhappily proceeded from or accompanied the restored Stuart monarchy and the re-established Episcopacy. We hear nothing indeed of cruel measures against Presbyterians. Most of the ministers conformed, and cases of hesitancy or scruple were treated with leniency. The Test Act, placing church and people at the mercy of the king, raised alarm which was not completely removed by the explanatory and attenuating Act of Council, and several incumbents were deprived of their livings for non-compliance. Harsher measures, however, were directed against the Quakers, the town council ordering certain "traffickers" of this sect to be expelled from the town, and if they returned to be scourged by the hangman. Quakerism had made its appearance in Aberdeen at least as early as 1663, the first persons of position who professed it in the north-east being Alexander Jaffray, Colonel David Barclay, and his son Robert Barclay, author of the famous 'Apology'; and it is curious to read in Jaffray's

Diary of his solicitude that his father-in-law, Andrew Cant, the highflying Covenanter, should have "grace before his death to repent of his bitterness towards such as fear the Lord." Another early leader of Quakerism in the north was George Keith, son-in-law of the Professor William Johnston who negotiated on behalf of the Royalists in the early days of the Covenant. So long as he remained in Aberdeen Keith was a tireless propagandist of Quakerism, but having gone to America he quarrelled with the Quakers, and in his latter days as a clergyman of the Church of England he was their keenest opponent. Alexander Skene of Newtyle, a graduate of Marischal College, magistrate of Aberdeen, and historian of the city,[1] was another of the early converts, among whom were several ladies of high social status in the city, and some families of position in the county. The number of avowed Quakers or sympathisers with them rapidly increased, especially in Aberdeen itself and in the Inverurie district. The Privy Council, for which we may read Archbishop Sharp, passed an Act in 1667 for the suppression of "Popery and Quakerism," which began to be coupled together in political and ecclesiastical proceedings; and during the next few years the Synod of Aberdeen, with the approval of the bishop, excommunicated Jaffray and other "apostates," appointed a fast on account of "the desertion of the truth" by so many in this part of the land, and represented to the sheriff the propriety of putting in force against the Quakers the Act anent conventicles. In Aberdeen they were repeatedly attacked by the populace, their burial of their dead was interfered with by the authorities, such of them as were burgesses were deprived of their burgess-ship; and the Barclays and other visitors, as well as Quakers resident in the

[1] Author of 'A Succinct Survey of the Famous City of Aberdeen,' and 'Memorials for the Government of the Royal Burghs of Scotland.'

town, were thrown into prison and otherwise ill-treated. No persons were so active in stirring up the authorities against the Quakers as Menzies and Meldrum, whose Presbyterian consciences, after an Independent phase, had been strained by the enforcement of Episcopacy; and when the influence of Robert Barclay and William Penn obtained a relaxation of the repressive measures against their co-religionists, the Presbyterian party reproached the Privy Council and prelates with neglect of duty in not putting in force the laws for the repression of Quakerism.

The distinctive position of the two counties at and after the Revolution continued to turn mainly on ecclesiastical predilections. Few of their sons played any prominent part at this time in national affairs. One considerable actor behind the scenes was Bishop Gilbert Burnet, but he was now an English courtier and bishop, and had no particular connection with the course of affairs in Aberdeenshire. Sir George Gordon of Haddo, son of the victim of the Covenanters' vengeance, was first a regent of King's College, and then successively a Lord of Session, Lord President, Lord Chancellor, and first Earl of Aberdeen; and he had the reputation of being a solid statesman and fine orator, but slow to speak. The Scottish primate at the Revolution, Archbishop Ross, born at the manse of Kinnernie in Aberdeenshire, a respectable man who stood by King James, had not force of character to exercise any marked influence at such a crisis. The head of the premier governing family of the north, now raised from the marquisate of Huntly to the dukedom of Gordon (1684), held Edinburgh Castle for King James when the Convention of Estates met in Edinburgh four months after the landing of the Prince of Orange at Torbay, but was careful to do nothing to exasperate the besiegers or the Convention. Though he preferred the old

king, the heir of the Gordon traditions and power was not fanatically opposed to the Revolution.

When the Estates resumed their sittings as a Parliament, in June 1689, under the sanction of King William and Queen Mary, and the Earl of Annandale submitted his Bill for the abolition of prelacy and the settlement of Presbyterian government, the Earl of Kintore presented an address from the Synod of Aberdeen referring to its testimony against Popery, its general concurrence in praying for King William, and its earnest desire for union with all Protestant brethren who differed only in doctrine, and petitioning for a General Assembly to consider the matters in dispute and prepare overtures for the accommodation and the peace of the Church. The Duke of Hamilton, as commissioner, was favourably inclined to this proposal, which, however, was obnoxious to the Presbyterians, who in the actual condition of the Church would have been outvoted in such an Assembly. Attention was soon diverted from such matters by the exaggerated announcement of a conspiracy against the Government, the arrest of the Duke of Gordon and thirty-seven other persons, and the insurrection under John Graham of Claverhouse.

General Mackay, who knew the Highlands and had been trained as a soldier in Holland, was sent north with a small body of dragoons to deal with the insurgents. In Forfarshire, Graham's own county, he found nothing to arrest his progress, and he continued his march to Aberdeenshire by the Cairn-a-Mounth and Kincardine O'Neil. Here he was met by the Master of Forbes with five or six hundred ill-armed followers, whom he promptly relegated to the defence of their own fields. Meanwhile Viscount Dundee, by which title Claverhouse had been raised to the peerage by James, crossed the Grampians into Braemar, and passed thence

into Strathdon and Strathbogie, and onward towards Inverness. Before Mackay reached that town his nimble foe was back in the Lowlands. The history of Montrose's Cavalier days was repeating itself in the case of his kinsman. After much marching, and having forced the capitulation of Ruthven Castle in Strathspey, Dundee is again reported in Strathdon at the head of a large force; then in due course the large force melts away to dispose of the spoils of warfare. Mackay meanwhile returns to the Lowlands, and, reinforced by trustworthy Barclays and Leslies, passes to the uplands of West Aberdeenshire, and sends a detachment to dispose of Farquharson of Inverey, which has to be rescued by a larger force. Then follow the burning of Braemar and Inverey Castles and the occupation of Abergeldie by a Lowland garrison. These and other preliminaries over, the sharp and decisive battle of Killiecrankie was fought (July 27)—a victory more disastrous than defeat, for the leader had fallen who alone could turn it to account. General Buchan, who succeeded to the command of the Jacobite Highlanders, made Aberdeenshire the scene of his operations, but without achieving any notable result. Mackay occupied the city for a considerable time. There is a curious entry in the parish records of Kemnay under date of Sunday, August 11, 1689, a fortnight after the battle of Killiecrankie, to the effect that the bells were tolled and the minister was ready but no meeting of the people took place, because General Mackay was marching to Inverurie with his army, and Kemnay being the parish next adjacent, its people stayed from church to watch their corn, lest it should be destroyed by the horses of the military.[1] With the affair of the Haughs of Cromdale in the following spring the desultory warfare in the north was brought to a close.

[1] Davidson, Inverurie and the Earldom of the Garioch, p. 381.

Though the Jacobite party was strong in these counties it offered no serious resistance to the Revolution Settlement or the new king. The Episcopalian majority included most of the clergy, of the regents in the universities, and of the nobility and gentry, and was, therefore, the party of wealth and education. But it was without the zeal of the Presbyterians, who were supported by the force of their party in the south, and had the Revolution Settlement as a basis of action. Beginning in 1690 with only a single minister in the Synod of Aberdeen and Banff, the number of Presbyterian incumbents had risen to eight by the middle of 1694, when a Presbyterian kirk-session was formed in the city of Aberdeen, and to fifteen by the spring of 1697; but it was not until 1704 that the Communion was first administered in Aberdeen to the members of the Presbyterian Church.[1] At the General Assembly which followed the Parliamentary sanction of Presbyterianism, in October 1690, the country north of the Tay was almost entirely unrepresented. The Assembly had received power from Parliament, by a system of "visitation," to "try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers," and it accordingly appointed two commissions of visitation, one of which arrived in Aberdeen in March 1691. In anticipation of its coming, a number of the citizens and country gentlemen had entered into a bond to support their ministers. The commission had not sat half an hour when, according to the Privy Council minute on the subject, "the house was surrounded with a great confluence of the baser sort of the people, consisting of tradesmen, students of the universities, and a rabble of other sort of persons," who, armed with various weapons, attempted to break open the doors, which the commissioners "fortified within for their own preservation"; and "this multitude and

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. ii. pp. lxxii, lxxiii.

rabble ceased not to cry and threaten that they would drag the commissioners out of the house and stone them out of the town." In these circumstances no business could be done. Provost Sandilands was committed to prison over the affair, and a new election of provost was ordered by the Privy Council, while three other citizens had to do public penance in the Tron of Edinburgh. There was again, in the following year, as in the days of Sir Patrick Leslie's first election to the provostship, an active Presbyterian party in the town council, at whose instigation in 1692 a memorial was presented on the subject of Dr George Garden's not praying for the king and queen or observing the fasts and thanksgiving days. The minority, alleging that the council did not truly represent the sentiments of the community, protested that no action should be taken in the matter without the advice of the citizens, assembled in head-court, or at least of the "double council"; and all the more that some of the councillors concerned in the memorial had absented themselves from Dr Garden's ministrations for years. But the majority refused to consult the citizens, and carried out its purpose of referring the matter to the General Assembly. Principals Middleton and Paterson, and most of the regents of both colleges, took the oath of allegiance and complied with the terms of the Act of Parliament, some of them with avowed reluctance. As Earl Marischal was at the head of the committee of visitation, his influence may have weighed with the members of his own college. Dr James Garden of King's stood out and was deprived of his professorship, a fate which had previously overtaken the Aberdonian Dr David Gregory at Edinburgh, though there was no impediment to his admission immediately afterwards to the Savilian Chair at Oxford.

The General Assembly of 1692 had before it a letter and proposed formula, by which the king sought to provide for the

comprehension of the Episcopal clergy within the Presbyterian system, and most of the north-eastern clergy who had subscribed the oath of allegiance met in King's College Chapel and agreed to accept the proposed compromise; but it was not welcome to the Presbyterians, whom it would have placed in a minority in many of the Church courts, and without directly opposing it they set it aside by the familiar device of reference to a committee. Two years afterwards the Commission of Assembly renewed its attempt to displace the Episcopal clergy, and in anticipation of its visit to Aberdeen, in June 1694, the clergy of the north-eastern diocese, with representatives from Moray, Ross, Caithness, and Orkney, and from the shires of Angus and Mearns, met at King's College and appointed delegates to appear before it, and, following the precedent set by the famous queries of the Doctors, to demand an answer to certain questions as to its authority, as also to enter a protest against the proceedings of the late Assemblies, which were Assemblies of only a comparatively small minority of the Church. Nothing was done in the way of carrying out the contemplated deprivations, but the Commission induced several of the Aberdeenshire ministers to conform, and obtained possession of the Cathedral of St Machar. On its return to Edinburgh the Privy Council was invoked, and three of the ministers who subscribed to the protest were deprived and put in prison, while two others escaped by conforming. At Inverness fourteen of the clergy gave in a paper in which they declared their adherence to the Aberdeen protestation.

The Act of 1695, securing incumbents who had taken the oath in possession of their benefices though without a share in the general church government, was taken advantage of by many of the old parochial clergy. As late as 1710, however, there were still 113 Episcopal holders of benefices north of

the Tay. Most of the Aberdeenshire and Banffshire incumbents appear to have taken a practical view of the question of church government, and while preferring the moderate Episcopacy of the days preceding the Revolution to the new Presbyterianism, they did not think the question of form so vital as to preclude a provisional acceptance of the church order forced upon them. There were a certain number of non-jurors, but during the reign of Queen Anne the Episcopalians were generally well affected towards the sovereign, whose zeal for Episcopacy promised a return of better days, of which indeed they had an earnest in the Toleration Act of 1712. Many of the deprived clergy in Aberdeenshire submitted to the queen, including the two Gardens, who presented to her an address by the clergy of Aberdeen on the conclusion of the Treaty of Utrecht, referring to the freedom they now enjoyed, and in view of the abolition of the ancient and apostolical order in their Church petitioning for further relief.

The queen died, however, before further progress towards restoration of Episcopacy had been made. Many of the influences that attached the Episcopalians to Anne repelled them from George I., on whose accession they allowed the interests of Episcopalianism to be identified with those of Jacobitism. The Gardens, unhappily for themselves and their cause, appeared before the Pretender at Fetteresso with an address from the Episcopalian clergy, and henceforth Episcopacy was associated in the public mind, and especially in the mind of the Government, with Jacobitism and rebellion. The Episcopal clergy had now to seek an asylum at a distance from Aberdeen, and in the case of Dr George Garden, who escaped from prison, by leaving the country. Of those who remained at their posts some were tried for the political crime of rebellion, others for the ecclesiastical offence of using the

English Liturgy and ceremonies. Altogether, about three dozen clergymen were deprived at this time within the diocese or synod of Aberdeen, of whom a majority were parish ministers.

The state of popular sentiment in regard to church affairs on the eve of the first rebellion is illustrated in the trouble arising out of the presentation by the Presbytery of a son of Provost John Gordon of Aberdeen to the incumbency of Deer in the spring of 1711. Gordon's presentation was forcibly resisted by the Episcopalian parishioners, when, according to a chronicler of the time, "the Presbytery and their satellites were soundly beaten off by the people, not without blood on both sides."[1] This is the "Rabbling of Deer," celebrated in William Meston's "Mob contra Mob, or the Rabblers Rabbled." A party had gone out from Aberdeen in support of Gordon, among them apparently Provost Fordyce, who had been lessee of the Mill of Bruxie in Deer, and substantial burgesses engaged in the Campvere and Danzig trades; but for the time the "intrusion" was successfully resisted. It was an application against the Presbyterians of the weapon of "rabbling," which they had exercised in different parts of Scotland, and the incident was the immediate prelude of the Act of Toleration and the Act for the restoration of Church Patronage, and was more or less the cause to which these measures were due.[2]

Few of the old Episcopalian incumbents, and none who were obtrusive in the expression of Jacobite sentiments, remained in the parochial benefices after the overhaul that followed the suppression of the rebellion. The early decades of the Guelph dynasty saw Presbyterian ministers of the

[1] Collections, &c., Spalding Club, p. 401.

[2] Cf. an account of a similar case at Towie in a monograph on 'The Strachans of Glenkindie,' by Colonel Allardyce, LL.D. (Aberdeen, 1899).

"Moderate" school appointed to most of the parishes of the north-east. This school commended itself to many of the patrons, and such patronage as appertained to landlords strongly tainted with Jacobitism passed into the hands of the Government and its supporters. Ministers of Episcopalian-Jacobite tendencies, even could they have been found, would no longer have been appointed. There remained, indeed, through foul weather as through fair, a small body of non-juring clergymen, more numerous in Aberdeenshire than in any other part of Scotland, whom no penal laws or persecution could extinguish. After Culloden a rigorous enforcement of the law took place, and a new statute was passed for the punishment of persons resorting to any "meeting-house" where non-jurors officiated, and for the shutting-up of the meeting-houses, and the imprisonment or transportation of the pastors; but the history of the rebellion affords no evidence that the non-juring clergy had to any considerable extent been a cause of the rising. The penal laws were still unrepealed, and the Scottish bishops and clergy still held to their non-jurancy when, in 1784, a year after the acknowledgment of American independence, Dr Samuel Seabury, the first American bishop, was consecrated in Aberdeen by three of the four bishops who then formed the Scottish episcopate. Two of the three were the Primus (Bishop Robert Kilgour of Aberdeen) and his coadjutor, John Skinner, son of the poet, historian, and nonjuring clergyman of the same name. It was not till the death of Prince Charles in 1788 that the bishops and clergy took the oath of allegiance to the sovereign in possession, and obtained the repeal of the penal laws, the enforcement of which, however, had been relaxed since the accession of George III.

CHAPTER XII.

THE JACOBITE REBELLIONS—THE EARL OF MAR AS COURTIER AND REBEL LEADER—ABERDEENSHIRE AND THE UNION—COLONEL HOOKE'S MISSION—MAR'S "HUNTING PARTY"—FIRE-RAISING TO COMPEL HIS VASSALS AND THEIR TENANTS TO RISE—PROCLAMATION OF THE PRETENDER—THE JACOBITES OCCUPY ABERDEEN AND ELECT A TOWN COUNCIL—LANDING OF THE PRETENDER AT PETERHEAD: HIS COURT AT FETTERESSO—FLIGHT OF JAMES AND MAR, AND COLLAPSE OF THE REBELLION—THE FORFEITED ESTATES: THE YORK BUILDINGS COMPANY'S OPERATIONS—THE EARL MARISCHAL'S RETURN—THE POLITICAL INFLUENCE OF THE CHURCH: MODERATISM—OVERHAUL OF THE UNIVERSITIES—CATTLE-LIFTING AND SMUGGLING—THE SECOND JACOBITE RISING—MEAGRE PART TAKEN IN IT BY ABERDEENSHIRE—LORD LEWIS GORDON AND THE OTHER LEADERS—THE JACOBITES IN ABERDEEN—ITS RELIEF BY CUMBERLAND—THE SEVERITIES AFTER CULLODEN—FINAL SUPPRESSION OF CATTLE-LIFTING—ABOLITION OF HEREDITARY JURISDICTIONS—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES.

Before King George set foot on British soil he had received the Earl of Mar's effusive letter proffering service and loyalty, and as the king would have nothing to do with any of Queen Anne's ministers, Mar, who was an accomplished courtier, the brother-in-law of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and the friend of St John and Harley, as of Pope and Arbuthnot, tried to strengthen his position by a memorial tendering the fealty and duty of the MacDonalds, Camerons, Macphersons, MacIntoshes, and other Highland clans. But his overtures were neglected. For nearly a year after his dismissal he hung about the Court, and then, in August

1715, started in disguise for Braemar and Kildrummy on his ill-starred mission. As Secretary of State he had with the Earl of Seafield, the Chancellor, taken part in promoting the Union, and it had been supported in the Scottish Parliament by a majority of the north-eastern representatives—the Earls of Kintore and Findlater, and Lords Forbes, Fraser, and Banff among the nobility, and of Commoners Sir Alexander Ogilvie of Forglen, Sir Thomas Burnett of Leys, Abercromby of Glassaugh, and William Seton, younger, of Pitmedden, the member for Aberdeenshire, who was one of its foremost advocates. Opposed to it were the Earl of Erroll and the Earl Marischal, who saw in it the loss of their hereditary offices of High Constable and great Marischal of Scotland; and Moir of Stoneywood, Gordon of Pitlurg, and James Ogilvie, younger, of Boyne. But the Union had not, in its early years, fulfilled the promises and expectations held out by its promoters. Its advantages were not yet fully apparent, and its drawbacks in connection with some of the fiscal laws bulked largely in the public view. By its settlement of the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover and the Presbyterian Church, it acted as a challenge to the Jacobites and Episcopalians, who were numerous in the north-east. Every element of discontent and disaffection lent itself to the purposes of Mar. On the other hand, the Union was accepted, on the whole, by the ruling class in the city of Aberdeen, which included many merchant-burgesses engaged in the foreign trade, one of whom, Provost John Gordon, formerly a factor at Campvere, was the first representative of the city, with its associated burghs, in the British Parliament, and had an allowance from his constituents to meet his expenses in London.

Before the Act had obtained the royal sanction Colonel

Hooke, a Jacobite refugee in the French service, was on his way to Slains Castle to intrigue with the Jacobite and other malcontents, at the instance of Louis XIV., and incite them to play his game against England. The Earl of Erroll seems to have encouraged the French views, and the Duke of Gordon was interpreted as doing so, as were also Lord Saltoun, Lord Panmure, and some of the southern nobility; but on the whole there was a unanimity of prudent reserve among the Jacobite notables. In process of time Admiral Fourbin, with his fleet from Dunkirk, made his appearance off Montrose, turned south, and anchored at the Isle of May until the English fleet was descried, and then steered north again as far as Buchanness, and thence away finally to sea, leaving a ship that had gone up the Firth of Forth to fall into the hands of Admiral Byng.

In the latter part of Queen Anne's reign the Government was favourable to the Jacobites, but the discontent in Scotland continued, and there was friction between the Scotch and English representatives over the opposition of the House of Lords to the Duke of Hamilton's English peerage as also over the malt-tax, which was alleged to violate the rights of Scotland under the Act of Union; and it was during the tension caused by these questions that Lord Findlater, who had been one of the supporters of the Act of Union, brought forward a motion in the House of Lords for its repeal, which was defeated only by a majority of three.

When the news of the death of Queen Anne reached Aberdeen a number of youths paraded the streets at night, headed by two fiddlers playing Jacobite melodies. Coming to the well which then stood near the Cross, they "took water in their hats" and drank to the health of the Pretender. A report of the escapade, which was of a piece

with proceedings of the same kind in other towns, reached London, and the Earl of Mar, as Secretary of State, wrote to the magistrates directing them to cause the persons guilty of such treasonable practices to be apprehended and prosecuted according to law. Inquiry was made, and the depositions of various persons were sent to the Government, the magistrates reporting that the inculpated individuals had absconded and were beyond the city jurisdiction, and giving the names of four who resided in the sheriffdoms of Moray and Aberdeenshire.[1] Twelve months afterwards Mar himself was organising a rebellion in favour of the Pretender. A meeting of the merchant and trade burgesses, called by the provost in consequence of a report that the Highlanders were in motion and might attack the town, resolved to take defensive measures. This was on the 3rd of August 1715, and as Mar attended the Levee in London on the 1st, it would appear that the movement among the Highlanders began before he arrived in the north.

On his way from Elie, where he landed from his voyage from England, Mar sought the adhesion of Jacobites in Fife and Forfar, and from his Castle of Kildrummy he issued invitations to a number of the nobility, ostensibly for a great hunting-party to be held at Braemar on the 26th of August. The hunting-party was a convenient pretext for such a gathering, and Braemar had the twofold advantage of being central for many of the nobles, lairds, and chiefs whose presence was desired, and remote from the observation of the Government. A large number of the great territorial families were represented at the gathering, including Mar's immediate neighbours, the Dukes of Gordon and Atholl (by their sons

[1] Historical Papers relating to the Jacobite Period, edited by Colonel James Allardyce, LL.D., New Spalding Club, vol. i. pp. 28, 29.

the Marquis of Huntly and the Earl of Tullibardine), the Earl of Breadalbane (by Campbell of Glenderule), Lords Southesk, Ogilvy, Stormont, and Drummond; the young Earl Marischal, whose strong-willed Drummond mother was a relative of Mar, represented the Lowlands of Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire, and with him was the Earl of Erroll; and of the other Jacobite nobility there are said to have been present the Earls of Carnwath, Linlithgow, Nithsdale, and Traquair, Viscounts Kenmure, Kilsyth, and Kingston, Lords Duffus, Nairn, Rollo, Seaforth, and Strathallan, and the Chief of Glengarry. The lairds of Glenbucket and Strowan cannot have been absent, and the company must have included Mar's Farquharson vassals and others whose names are not on record. Mar delivered an address, and the existence of a war-chest of £100,000 was announced. Consultations took place elsewhere — we hear, for instance, of another "hunting-party" at Aboyne— and Scottish Jacobitism and discontent were everywhere on the alert. Great difficulty, however, was experienced, not only by Mar himself, whose position was chiefly that of a feudal superior having no direct relations with the mass of the people, but doubtless by the other prime movers in the rebellion, in getting their vassals and tenants to rise. A letter which the earl addressed to John Forbes of Inverernan, his "bailie of Kildrummy," takes him severely to task for remissness and lack of zeal. "Jocke," so the letter begins, "ye were right not to come with the hundred men ye sent up to-night when I expected four times that number;" it was "a pretty thing" that only the Mar men should be refractory; "I have used gentle means too long, and shall be forced to put other means into execution." The vassals were to be treated as enemies unless they were forthcoming, and intimation was to be made to the tenants that if they

did not attend a party would be sent to burn or take away all their possessions. The gentlemen were to appear in their best accoutrements on horseback, no excuse to be taken, and Forbes himself was to be at their head. Mar kept his word. One of his vassals was David Lumsden of Cushnie, and in the cases of a dozen of Lumsden's tenants taken prisoners at Preston evidence was given which satisfied a court held at Alford that the threats and oppression used by Mar and his agents sufficiently accounted for their participation in the rebellion. The men fled from their houses for several days to escape the impressment, and at last their houses and cornyards were set on fire by the recruiting parties, the men being ultimately captured, marched as prisoners to Braemar, and sent off for service in the English expedition, where the chances of desertion were less than nearer home. Even in Braemar itself the Jacobite leader had his disappointments. Farquharson of Invercauld, in whose house he had been staying, and Gordon of Abergeldie broke away from him, and risked the burning with which he threatened them rather than the graver perils of rebellion.[1]

It was on the 6th of September that with religious solemnities Mar raised the standard of insurrection at Braemar, on a commanding spot now covered by the hotel where the modern village is entered from the east. A fortnight afterwards the Pretender was proclaimed by Earl Marischal at the cross of Aberdeen, and at Dundee by a new Graham of Claverhouse, at Montrose by the Earl of Southesk, at Brechin by Lord Panmure, and at various places by other adherents of the Jacobite party. The bells of Aberdeen were rung at night and the town was illuminated, the citizens who refused or neglected to illuminate being "rabbled" by the Jacobite

[1] Historical MSS. Commission, Fourteenth Report, App. iii. p. 164.

mob. The town council and magistrates were of Hanoverian sympathies, but the Convener of the Trades, with the deacons and box-masters, were Jacobites, and entertained the Earl Marischal and his friends at a feast in the Trades Hall. When the council met next day the Jacobites presented themselves in powerful array, and demanded possession of the arms and ammunition belonging to the town and the keys of the blockhouse, which were either given over or seized; and Captain John Bannerman, who had been commissioned by Marischal to that end, took command of the town. Popular sentiment was evidently in favour of the Pretender, though the merchant-burgesses and middle-class generally adhered to the cause of King George. On the eve of the annual election of town council and magistrates the Earl Marischal returned from Inverugie. The old council did not attempt to appoint their successors, alleging that as the Trades were in rebellion no valid election could be held. A head-court of the burgh was thereupon convened by the earl in the New or East Church of St Nicholas and a Jacobite council elected on his nomination, with Patrick Bannerman as provost, while Moir of Stoneywood, Moir of Scotston, and James Bisset, younger, of Lessendrum, country gentlemen who were also burgesses of the city, were appointed councillors. The old religious divisions came again into prominence, and after some opposition the New Church was left for the use of the Presbyterian ministers and people, while in the Old Church Dr George Garden, Mr Robert Blair, and Dr Burnet preached from Sunday to Sunday and prayed for James VIII. The Marquis of Huntly arrived in the town on the 3rd of October with seventy horsemen on his way to join the insurgent army, and with Lord Pitsligo was entertained by the Jacobite magistrates at the Council House as well as by the Trades.

The inevitable requisitions for supplies soon reminded the citizens of the burdens that had so often been laid on the town. After the raising of the Jacobite standard at Braemar, but before the proclamation of the Pretender in Aberdeen, the Hanoverian town council had sanctioned the purchase of 200 stand of arms, and had given effect to an order from the Lord Justice-Clerk to seize all the gunpowder belonging to the merchants and send the greater part of it to Edinburgh for the use of the Government. Within a few weeks came demands from the Earl of Mar, as "commander-in-chief of his Majesty's forces in Scotland," for 300 Lochaber axes, for immediate payment of £200 sterling as "six months' cess, in full of all former cess," and for raising under the name of a loan a further sum of £2000, a first instalment of £500 to be transmitted immediately. Four cannon were to be forwarded by sea to the Marquis of Huntly, and later on a head-court of the citizens agreed to furnish and defray the charges of a troop of thirty horse for the Earl Marischal's squadron. Another requisition was for the transportation to Perth of a printing-press and supply of type belonging to James Nicol, the town's printer.

The Pretender landed at Peterhead with six followers on the 22nd of December, and passed through Aberdeen incognito to the Earl Marischal's house of Fetteresso, where he assumed the status of king, received loyal addresses from the magistrates and Episcopal clergy of Aberdeen and the professors of the two universities, and conferred on Provost Bannerman the honour of knighthood. James made his way to Perth, and reigned for three weeks in Scone Palace. But the southern Jacobite army had been extinguished at Preston, Mar had failed at Sheriffmuir, and rumour came to Scone that Argyll was approaching. The gallant Gordon of Glenbucket swore that the loyal clans would fight round their

king 10,000 strong, but Mar had lost his appetite for fighting, and the Pretender, who had not nerve for such a situation, wished himself well out of Scotland.

So much of the Jacobite army as had not "melted away" into its Highland glens was led down the Carse of Gowrie and along the sea-coast until it reached Montrose, where the Pretender and his commander-in-chief slipped on board a French vessel, telling their anxious followers that they were bound for Aberdeen by sea. In point of fact they were escaping to France. The army thus cravenly deserted was in a woful plight. At Aberdeen the question of making a stand was considered, but it was concluded that there was no chance of successfully doing so. Most of the prominent men sailed from Aberdeen or some other north-eastern port for the Continent, and when Argyll reached the town he found it empty of Jacobites of note. The rising had commanded the sympathy of many persons of position in the north-east, and in the hands of a military leader of ability and resolution, in the state of opinion and feeling prevailing throughout Scotland, a much more protracted struggle would have taken place. But Mar's vanity was the ruin, as it had been the origin, of the insurrection. He had none of the qualities of a great leader.

In a short time the Earl Marischal and his brother are found at Cardinal Alberoni's conference at Madrid, which resulted, among other things, in the Spanish-Jacobite expedition to the West Highlands and the fiasco in Glenshiel. The sentence of death against Marischal was of none effect, because he kept out of the way, but there was no escape from the forfeitures decreed in the special Acts of Attainder that were passed against him and against Mar, Panmure, who had recently acquired the Aberdeenshire estate of Belhelvie, Southesk, who held (as Panmure also did) an extensive

territory on the southern borders of the county, and the other Jacobite leaders or partisans.

The forfeited estates were placed in the hands of commissioners "in order to raise money out of them severally for the use of the public," and in Aberdeenshire as elsewhere the commissioners found themselves beset by difficulties. Their English law was couched in exotic phraseology which the Scottish courts were not eager to interpret or apply, while Scottish creditors of the attainted noblemen hastened to the Court of Session with claims that left small margin for the public. Sequestrations of the estates were ordered, and Jacobite nominees of the creditors were appointed as "factors" to deal with the revenues and properties. Thus Thomas Arbuthnot, the Earl Marischal's agent in Peterhead, who had been with him in the rebellion, was appointed factor on the Marischal estates; and Thomas Lumsden, who had been Panmure's adviser on political matters as well as his agent in matters of business, was invested by the court with full powers of administration over the Panmure estates. Parliament, on being appealed to by the commissioners, empowered them to sell the estates, and, on a sale taking place, those of Marischal, Panmure, and Southesk in Aberdeenshire or on its borders were purchased by the York Buildings Company. In acquiring the properties the company fell heir to some of the difficulties of the commissioners, and it soon had others of its own. By the Jacobites it was disliked as Hanoverian, by the Marischal tenantry it was regarded as a usurping absentee corporation and a common enemy. After some experience of the stiffness of the tenants and the slowness of the law-courts, the company proceeded to lease the estates to "tacksmen," or middlemen, who were to pay a fixed rent and deal individually with the tenants. Provost Gordon

and his son-in-law, Provost Robert Stewart — the latter of whom had been in office when the Pretender was proclaimed — became joint-lessees of Fetteresso; Belhelvie was leased by Provost George Fordyce; and Sir Archibald Grant, the member of Parliament for Aberdeenshire, jointly with his brother-in-law Alexander Garden of Troup, obtained leases of the Marischal estates in Buchan and other large interests in the forfeited lands.

The company and its lessees addressed themselves with more zeal than wisdom to the task of developing their estates and establishing new industries. Mining for iron and other metals was revived in Glenesk, and iron mines were opened on the banks of the Conglass—a tributary of the Aven in Upper Banffshire; but as fuel, except peat, was scarce in that district, the ore had to be transported on packhorses across the hills to iron-works that were established at Culnakyle on the banks of the Spey, where the pine-woods of Abernethy furnished the raw material of charcoal, and where preparations were made for carrying on the industry on a grand scale. "Strathdoun pigs" were placed on the market; but after much capital had been laid out, it was found — for General Wade's roads were still unmade — that the problem of transport alone would be fatal to a successful iron manufacture in such remote regions, and a crisis in the affairs of the company brought the experiment to an abrupt termination. Another of the company's operations was to float timber down the Spey in rafts for shipment to England—the raft and raftsman being a novelty in the north. One benefit which the company conferred at the remoter seats of its industrial enterprises was to familiarise the public with better methods of organising labour than had hitherto been known. Skilled workmen were brought from the south, whose ways of life as well as of work differed widely from

those of the inhabitants; and by its roadmaking and sawmills in the Speyside forests, and its systematic prosecution of the timber trade, the York Buildings Company contributed in its degree to the development of northern industry. The middlemen-lessees of the agricultural estates had such advantageous bargains with the company as left an ample recompense for the difficult business of collecting rents, and the Aberdeenshire leases were renewed as they expired; but it does not appear that agricultural improvement made any notable progress under them.

After the two brothers Keith had risen to the highest positions in the service of Frederick the Great, and the younger, as Field-Marshal, had fallen in the battle of Hochkirchen, the elder—Earl Marischal—who kept himself clear of the second Jacobite rising, obtained a reversal of his attainder, and held the earldom of Kintore, to which he fell heir, for the last seventeen years of his life. He had a friend at Frederick's Court in the person of Sir Andrew Mitchell of Thainston, the British ambassador, and was on terms of the greatest friendship with Frederick himself. Marischal served his country by revealing to the elder Pitt the Bourbon family compact, the secret of which he had learned when Prussian ambassador at Madrid; and he received a grant of public money which enabled him to buy back his Buchan estates on easy terms, for none would bid against him. But Inverugie, in its ruins, had little charm for his childless old age, and Frederick easily persuaded him to return to the Court at Potsdam. The estates were resold—the greater part of them becoming the property of James Ferguson, the eminent Scottish judge known as Lord Pitfour.

A great change in public sentiment took place in the course of the thirty years between the first and second

Jacobite rebellions. Most of the Aberdeenshire adherents of the Stuart cause were convinced by Mar's failure of the futility of armed resistance, if not of the soundness of Whig and Hanoverian principles. The influence of the Church was exerted on the side of the Government, and after 1716 there was little Jacobitism among the parish ministers. Differences there were among them; but it is noteworthy that the Presbyterian Secession of 1733 got little support in the north-east, and the Erskines did not draw a single recruit from the ranks of the ministers between the Dee and Spey.

One of the measures following the suppression of the rebellion of 1715 was another and final "purgation" of the two universities. A royal commission of visitation in 1717 deprived King's College of its principal, its civilist, and two of its regents. At Marischal College the principalship became vacant by death, but the professors of mathematics and medicine and four regents were removed. The only professor left in office was Dr Thomas Blackwell, who held the chair of divinity, and who, as a staunch Presbyterian, had been sent by the General Assembly to London to oppose the passing of the Toleration and Patronage Acts. Blackwell was now promoted to the principalship; Colin Maclaurin, at the age of a modern undergraduate, was appointed professor of mathematics, to be succeeded, on his removal on the recommendation of Sir Isaac Newton to the corresponding chair at Edinburgh a few years later, by John Stewart, son of the provost, one of whose colleagues was to be the eloquent and accomplished David Fordyce, who, while still a young man, perished by shipwreck as he was returning from Holland. Another was Thomas Blackwell, the younger, who first was professor of Greek and afterwards principal. George Chalmers, minister of Kilwinning,

was appointed Principal of King's College. Alexander Garden, younger of Troup, an advocate in Edinburgh, of the influential Whig connection and lessee of forfeited estates, became civilist in 1717, and sold the office for 4500 merks in 1724 to Alexander Fraser, sub-principal, for his son.[1] John Ker and Daniel Bradfut, both undistinguished, came north with Chalmers to be regents under royal warrants issued at the instance of the Commission of Visitation. The first of four members of the family of Gregory who held the office of "mediciner" in King's College was appointed in 1725. Both colleges finally ceased at this "purgation" to be an influence on the side of Jacobitism or Episcopacy.

The turbulence of the Highlands, including the upland glens of these counties, had all along been largely due to economic causes; and the reports of General Wade, who was ordered to investigate the manners and customs of the Highlanders and "the state of the country in regard to the robberies and depredations said to be committed," disclose an organised system of cattle-stealing and blackmail, by means of which the Celtic clans subsisted on their Lowland neighbours. Some of the more daring banditti, as Gilderoy and John Dugar in the preceding century, not only stole cattle and horses but captured members of wealthy families and held them at ransom, as in the case of a relative of Dr John Forbes of Corse, for whom a great sum was demanded, but whose release by Dugar without payment was procured through the intervention of Huntly.[2] Action was taken by the central authority from time to time with a view to the suppression of these "cattle-lifting" raids. Thus in 1672 Alexander Farquharson of Invercauld was ordered by the Privy Council to enter into a bond, under a penalty of

[1] Orem, Description of Old Aberdeen, p. 186 (1791 ed.)

[2] Spalding, vol. i. p. 95.

3000 merks, in addition to indemnification of persons wronged, for the good behaviour of his people, and to exact bonds of relief, of similar purport, from his vassals residing at a distance; and a general Act of 1686 provided that in all leases there should be a clause obliging tenants and their dependents to live peaceably and regularly. Yet in 1689-90 Lord Forbes's tenants were despoiled by raiders from Badenoch, Braemar, and Upper Banffshire—the country round the base of the Cairngorms—of 158 cattle, 18 horses, and 830 sheep.[1] The chiefs tried to repudiate the responsibility which the Government threw upon them, and attributed the depredations to "broken men." In truth, however, they were part of an organised system, in the persistence of which we may see the natural and indeed necessary result of the over-population of high-lying mountain regions where the cereals do not ripen except in favourable years. To enforce the law against cattle-stealing was to compel the people to migrate or starve, for there was not subsistence for them in the produce of their own lands.

The heritors of the Presbyteries of Alford and Kincardine organised in 1700 a system of mutual insurance, and imposed on themselves a tax to secure the apprehension and prosecution of the chief robbers by whom their estates were harried. About the same time a sort of Highland police was formed, consisting of small companies of soldiers under some of the chiefs, for the purpose of repressing disorders. When General Wade was making his roads he organised half-a-dozen such companies—the Black Watch, as they were called—to patrol the Highlands and suppress blackmail and cattle-stealing. These companies were after a time transformed into a regiment of regular troops; and then we find Macpherson of Cluny, in the character of a patriotic blackmailer, organising

[1] Historical Papers, &c., vol. i. pp. xiv-xix.

in 1744 a "watch for the security of several counties in the north of Scotland from thefts and depredations," which was to act impartially against all depredators, whether their victims paid for his services or not.[1]

The opening up of the central Highlands by General Wade's roads was the most effective of the measures of the Government after the suppression of the rebellion. Little had come of the Disarming Acts of 1716, except that obsolete weapons were imported from Holland and surrendered at a profit; but the new trunk roads and military stations had a significance and potentiality that were plain enough to the Highland chiefs and clans, who had been astonished at seeing Wade driving along in a coach and six horses. Wheeled vehicles were a novelty in the north. Sir Archibald Grant records that in 1720 he could not get his wife conveyed by chariot from Aberdeen to Monymusk, and that in the early years after the Union there was no coach, chariot, or chaise, and but few carts, north of the Tay. General Wade opened up the Highlands not only to wheeled vehicles but to effective patrolling by troops, and the easy and rapid transport of artillery. But his roads did not extend to Aberdeenshire or Banffshire, and while raiding by caterans from distant parts was to a certain extent checked, there was a hungry population in the upper glens of the Dee, the Don, and the Banffshire streams, to which repression was starvation.

The opening up of the Highlands involved a serious detraction from the power and position of clan chiefs and landlords. At the same time many of the Lowland gentry, and even of the nobility, were miserably poor. Apart from Jacobitism the Government was unpopular, political and social discontent were rife, and hostility to the Union was stimulated by increased

[1] Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 87-89.

taxation. These discontents were not aggressively manifested in the north-east, where nothing occurred bearing any resemblance to the Shawfield and Porteous mobs; but the fiscal laws induced a development of smuggling, and all along the coasts of Buchan and Banffshire the local population was concerned in the contraband traffic, receiving large quantities of foreign spirits and wines on dark nights for concealment in recesses of the rocks or in the sand, to await opportunities of inland transport and sale. The revenue laws and the consequences of the Porteous mob affected Aberdeenshire indirectly, by giving strength to Jacobitism and sedition in other parts of Scotland.

The first harbinger of the outbreak was a missive from the Marquis of Tweeddale, as Secretary of State, with the king's message to Parliament on the subject of a projected invasion in the interests of a Pretender with the support of France. In reply to this missive a loyal address was sent back by the Town Council of Aberdeen, and on the announcement of an insurrection in the West Highlands in August 1745 it was resolved to arm the citizens in twelve companies.

Sir John Cope encamped on the high ground west of the Denburn on September 11, 1745, when returning from his futile expedition to Inverness, and insisted on taking with him in the transport ships in which his force was about to sail for the Forth the cannon at the blockhouse and the small arms belonging to the town. The town council at once agreed to give up the cannon as unserviceable for defence against landward attack, but only yielded up the small arms when threatened with the king's displeasure and on Cope's representation that they would inevitably fall into the hands of the rebels.

Though Aberdeen was occupied by the Jacobite insurgents for five months in 1745-46, neither the city nor either of the counties played any considerable part in the rising. Circum-

stances had greatly changed since 1715, when the rebellion had its origin and much of its strength in the north-east. Mar and Marischal were now unrepresented, and the second insurrection was organised elsewhere and had none of its prime movers in these counties. Prudential considerations, enforced by memories of Mar's rebellion, restrained many influential persons of Jacobite leanings from declaring themselves. Avowed Jacobites would have entered the field had the Prince's cause prospered. The Earl of Aberdeen, for instance, was on the point of being led by the early successes of the rebel cause to take part in the rising, when his somewhat sudden death saved him from final committal to so grave a step.[1]

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother of the duke, and a youthful cavalier of the dashing and semi-quixotic type, after some apparent hesitation, took the side of the Prince, was appointed his Lord-Lieutenant for the two shires, and became the acknowledged leader of the north-eastern Jacobites, though he had no hand in the initiatory stages of the rebellion. The duke himself held aloof, though it was his chamberlain that proclaimed the Pretender in Aberdeen. The deputy-lieutenant, who was also governor of the city, was William Moir of Lonmay. The office had been offered to Erskine of Pittordie, but he prudently held aloof, as he had done in 1715 when the call to action came from his kinsman the Earl of Mar. Nearly all the Forbeses were loyal, but the most considerable Aberdeenshire participant in the insurrection was Alexander Forbes, fourth Lord Pitsligo, who had fought for the Pretender at Sheriffmuir and was now a man of advanced years, a religious idealist, whose high personal character inspired confidence and brought a numerous response from his Buchan neighbours to his call to arms. Lord Pitsligo was a

[1] Lord Stanmore, The Earl of Aberdeen, p. 4.

legitimist with an honest belief in the divine right of kings, and it is recorded that when he had marshalled his troop of cavalry in Aberdeen he took off his hat, looked upwards with a solemn appeal to heaven that the cause was just, and in the same breath gave the order to march. Gordon of Glenbucket, than whom there was no more thorough soldier, was again in the forefront. In Aberdeen itself the most active of the Jacobites was James Moir of Stoneywood, nephew of the governor; and of the old families in the neighbourhood Irvine of Drum, Menzies of Pitfodels, and Sir Alexander Bannerman, espoused the Jacobite cause. Francis Farquharson of Monaltry commanded the Aboyne battalion, consisting to a large extent of his own kinsmen and their retainers from Upper Deeside. Among the other gentlemen of Banffshire and Aberdeenshire who took part in the insurrection were Sir William Dunbar of Durn, Sir William Gordon of Park, the Gordons of Avochie, Blelack, Carnousie, Cobairdy, and Hallhead, Ogilvie of Auchiries, Byres of Tonley, Hay of Rannes, and Fullerton of Dudwick; but the representation of the two counties is significantly meagre, and confined for the most part to houses of minor importance.

And while there was a prevailing indisposition among the county families of the north-east to follow the lead of the Murrays and Drummonds, who were at the head of the rebellion, the attitude of the general body of the people was that of decided aversion to the appeal to arms. Cope had left the town ten days when John Hamilton, the Duke of Gordon's chamberlain, arrived in Aberdeen (September 25) with a company of twenty-five horse and seventy foot to proclaim the Pretender. Some of the more ardent Jacobites among the citizens at once joined him, and the keys of the Market Cross having been obtained, the provost, James Morison, younger, of Elswick, was sent for. The provost could not be found

until a peremptory order was announced that unless he presented himself at once his house would be burned. He was then marched as a prisoner to the Town House, where some of the magistrates and council were already in compulsory attendance. The Jacobites ascended the cross, taking with them the provost and his colleagues, and thus appeared before the populace with the ostensible acquiescence and support of the civic authorities while the Pretender was proclaimed and the sheriff-substitute read his manifestoes.

In the town council records it is stated that the Jacobites endeavoured, even to the extent of using force, to get the provost to join them in drinking the health of the Pretender, "and several other treasonable and rebellious healths," and that on his refusal they "poured the wine down his breast, caused the bells to be rung and made public rejoicings, and, as a pretended jubilee, threw open the prison doors, whereby those that were committed for murder and other crimes, as well as for debts, made their escape." Provost Morison himself described the incident in a letter to Lord President Forbes, who replied, "The usage you met with at your Cross and your resolute behaviour I had formerly heard, nor need you doubt that it shall be properly represented in due time. The discontinuance of your election"—the annual election of town council and magistrates—"is what you could not help under the circumstances. The good people must at present live in the most neighbourly way they can, as none, I believe, would choose to act." But there was no heart in the rebellion in these parts, and Aberdeen, with its civic rulers, was substantially loyal.

The main problem before the Jacobites was that of recruiting. Lord Lewis Gordon's difficulties in procuring men were far greater than those of Mar had been. Lord Lewis, who was occasionally in Aberdeen, zealously seconded by

Moir of Stoneywood who was constantly there, did his best to induce Aberdonians to enlist. "They come little speed," remarks John Bisset, the city minister, in his diary,[1] which chronicles many facts and details showing that public sentiment was to a large extent favourable to King George. Bisset notes with delight the cheering for King George by the boys in the streets, and their manifestations of disapproval at the grammar-school on the masters' temporarily dropping the king's name out of the prayers. The Duke of Gordon having enjoined his people to keep clear of the insurrection, Lord Lewis found himself without personal followers from the family domains. In the early days of the rising he met the Jacobite gentlemen of Deeside at Aboyne Castle and at the house of Gordon of Blelack, but only to find out how reluctant the people were to commit themselves, and how baleful to Jacobitism was the influence of the Presbyterian ministers. Of the reluctance of the people of Aberdeenshire to rally to the standard of their "lawful prince" he writes to Stoneywood with much bitterness; and of Banffshire, with regard to raising the cess and levying men, he says, "We have been obliged to use great threatenings, although no real hardships have been used, and in the lazy way the country is in, together with the unnatural methods the ministers and other disaffected people make use of to restrain the people from doing their duty, there is no raising the quotas of men without seeming violence."[2] Another of Stoneywood's correspondents reports having engaged nine "servant lads," who were "induced to draw back by the diabolical lies of their Presbyterian preacher."[3] The minister of Logie-Mar, regardless of the sentiments of his principal heritor, was praying one Sunday that the army of the rebels

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. i. [2] Ibid., vol. i. p. 410.
[3] Ibid., vol. i. p. 422.

might be scattered and their counsels brought to nought, when an indignant lady parishioner burst out with the demand, "How dare ye say that an' my Charlie wi' them!"[1] Charles Gordon of Blelack was a colonel in the prince's army, and the interrupter was his mother. The ingenuous excuses offered by Erskine of Pittodrie for holding aloof may be taken as marking the attitude of many others. His health was broken, he wrote to Moir of Stoneywood, and he could not bear the fatigue and exposure of campaigning. "As for raising men," he continued, "I see such a backwardness it will only be the greatest force that will bring them out; and as for myself, I am worse situated that way than any of my neighbours. I have more widow women that have tacks in my interest than there are in several parishes round me; and if I should force out the men that hold the ploughs the tack must lie unlaboured, and I fancy you will easily believe I cannot support my family without rent. But I shall be well pleased to scrimp myself to give money to raise my proportion of men volunteers—forced men will be of no use." Such were the considerations that restrained many a Jacobite at heart from openly declaring for the Prince. Lord Lewis issued orders that one fully equipped soldier should be furnished for every £100 of valued rent, or £5 sterling in lieu of each man, under pain of military execution. The need for money was as urgent as the need for men. Aberdeen was ordered to pay its year's cess to the governor, but on the town, through its head-court, making a representation on the subject, a compromise was arranged under which the payment of £1000 into the needy rebel exchequer was accepted for the time as a full discharge.

There was no actual warfare in either county except the skirmish at Inverurie (December 23), in which Lord Lewis

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, preface, p. 81.

Gordon with his Aberdeenshire Lowlanders, including the Aberdeen men under Moir of Stoneywood, with the Aboyne battalion under Farquharson of Monaltry, surprised and defeated a body of Highlanders, consisting chiefly of the two loyal clans of Macleod and Munro, whom Lord Loudon had sent from Inverness to the relief of Aberdeen. A few of the loyalists were killed and forty-one taken prisoners. The warfare at this stage was not without its chivalrous features. Lord Lewis, in response to an appeal addressed to him by the laird of Macleod from Gordon Castle the day after the battle, undertook that all possible care should be taken of the wounded, and "every civility" shown to the prisoners, with the exception of "Regent Chalmers" of King's College, Forbes of Echt, and Maitland of Pittrichie, who, he said, had acted the infamous part of spies and informers, and the two last especially, who had "given a great deal of bad advice to a certain great man who shall be nameless"—no doubt his own ducal brother. These he held it to be "consistent neither with honour nor inclination" to treat as prisoners of war.

The north-eastern regiments had their part in the battle of Prestonpans, in the expedition to England, at Falkirk, and at Culloden. There was no bolder, braver, or more inspiriting warrior in the field than "Old Glenbucket," as he was called; and the other officers—Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Pitsligo, Monaltry, Stoneywood, Gordon of Avochie, and their subalterns—acquitted themselves with credit and with the zeal of men who had staked everything on the issue. The general direction of the campaign was not in their hands, and for its blunders they were not responsible. Some of the men who had been forced into the ranks were more eager to escape from them than to fight. On the Government side a company of local militia, lately enrolled in the

Deeside Highlands as an auxiliary or reserve for the "Black Watch," which had been transformed into the forty-third regiment of regular troops,[1] refused to embark with Cope at Aberdeen, and from another there were numerous desertions on the eve of the battle of Prestonpans. Similar desertions occurred on the Jacobite side, as in the case of a hundred of Stoneywood's men who were ordered to embark at Findhorn for a search expedition in Sutherlandshire; and individual desertions appear to have been numerous. But there is no reason to doubt that on the whole the north-eastern regiments, consisting though they did almost entirely of inexperienced soldiers, fought resolutely and steadily in the Jacobite cause.

The relief of Aberdeen by the Duke of Cumberland at the end of February 1746 was no doubt welcomed by the citizens generally, though it does not appear that avoidable hardships had been inflicted upon them by the Jacobites. The town council record speaks favourably of the Duke, who with his army remained in the town for six weeks, and on his departure appointed six ex-provosts, and six other citizens, to be governors of the city till order should be restored. Less pleasing accounts of him appear in Bishop Robert Forbes's Jacobite Memoirs, where particulars are given of his violence and inconsiderateness as occupant, for the time, of the house in the Guestrow of Mr Alexander Thomson, advocate, an adherent of the Whig interest; though still more discreditable was the rapacious conduct of General Hawley in the adjacent house of Mrs Gordon of Hallhead, whose husband was with the Jacobite army. The testimony of Bisset may be cited in support of the view that the conduct of the Jacobite soldiers while in the city was better than that of the English army.

When Cumberland started from Aberdeen on the 8th of

[1] Afterwards renumbered the 42nd.

April on his northward march by Oldmeldrum, Turriff, and Banff, he left a garrison of 200 men in Robert Gordon's Hospital, which had lately been built, but was not yet open for its educational purposes. Eight days afterwards the tired and starving Jacobite forces met with their final overthrow on Drummossie Moor, and the process of severe repression set in. Farquharson of Monaltry, and a few other officers, were taken prisoners, with a number of their men, but most of the principal officers escaped. They lurked among the hills or in Lowland places of concealment, and many of them endured great privations, but betrayal was practically unknown. Lord Pitsligo lived in disguise on his estate in Buchan, or under the shelter of his neighbours. Lord Lewis Gordon wandered from Fochabers to Strathbogie, and thence to Aboyne and Birse, until he found his way to France, where under an assumed name, and with health broken by the hardships he had suffered, he survived only a few years. The fugitives, of whom there were many in Upper Deeside, were aided by their kinsmen and neighbours, whose fidelity to the vanquished was proof against all offers of reward for the detection and surrender of rebel refugees. Farquharson of Invercauld, whose conduct when rebellion was afoot was more correct than his sentiments, was helpful to his kinsmen when the soldiers were in search of them. His daughter, in the absence of her husband, Æneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh (an officer in the Government service who contrived to be taken prisoner by his Jacobite friends), raised the Mackintoshes in the Stuart interest, and is said to have enlisted 300 Farquharsons from Deeside. "Colonel Anne," as she was called, is one of the heroines of northern tradition and romance, and was an involuntary prisoner after Culloden.

While the stern work of repression was in progress, a proclamation was published in the churches throughout

Aberdeenshire giving notice that "wherever arms of any kind are found, the house, and all houses belonging to the proprietor, shall be immediately burnt to ashes"; and that if any arms were discovered underground, "the adjacent houses and fields shall be immediately laid waste and destroyed." In the Act of Attainder against the leaders of the rebellion, forty-two are included, but only five of the names are connected with these shires—Lord Pitsligo, Lord Lewis Gordon, Sir William Gordon of Park, Gordon of Glenbucket, and Farquharson of Monaltry; but the secondary list of exemptions from the Act of Indemnity includes many Aberdeenshire names.

One of the last incidents of the rebellion in Aberdeen was the issue of an order to the magistrates by the Earl of Ancrum, as military commander, for the bells to be rung and the houses to be illuminated on the anniversary of the accession of George I. (August 1). It was not customary to commemorate other accessions than that of the reigning monarch, and while the bells were rung, the demand for illumination was disregarded. Things were carried with a high hand by the soldiers, who went through the town at night smashing windows and committing other acts of outrage under colour of loyalty. Notwithstanding pleas that the town was under military rule, the magistrates arrested one of the officers concerned in the affair, and their remonstrances were followed by the early transference from Aberdeen of the commanding officer, while proceedings for the recovery of damages were ultimately compromised, on the intercession of the commander of the forces in Scotland and others, on payment of a sum sufficient to reimburse the poorer citizens.

The abolition of the hereditary jurisdictions, and the overthrow of the clan system, had less importance for Aberdeen-

shire, where the only organised clan was that of Farquharson, than for the Highlands; but even here, as curtailing the power of the landlords over the people on their estates, it involved a social change of some importance. Compensation for the loss of offices and jurisdictions, under the Act of 1747, was awarded to the Duke of Gordon, the Earl of Erroll, the Earl of Seafield and Findlater, Lord Braco (who had acquired extensive interests in the counties, including some of the estates forfeited after 1715), Lord Saltoun, Sir Arthur Forbes of Craigievar, and Urquhart of Meldrum; while other claims were rejected, chiefly on a decision of the Court that lords of regalities could not split them on selling part of their lands.

Importance is also attributable to the military measures that followed Culloden, one of which was the stationing of small pickets of troops in the Highland districts of the two counties, finally to suppress the practice of cattle-lifting. The headquarters of this service were at first established at Tarland, with subordinate posts at Inchrory, the head of Glengairn, above the Linn of Dee, Glenclunie, Spital of Glenmuick, and Glenclova in Angus, commanding the various routes by which the caterans returned with their booty. While these posts were being established, forty-three head of cattle were intercepted from "the thieves of Rannoch." Overtures were made to the commanding officer at Tarland that he should "live and let live," by confining his attention exclusively to the shires of Aberdeen and Banff; and the Duke of Gordon's factor in Upper Banffshire sought, by a boycott, to starve out the picket at Inchrory.[1] But the practice was completely suppressed, and after a year or two the several pickets were concentrated as small garrisons in

[1] Historical Papers, &c., p. 491.

the castles of Braemar and Corgarff, a detachment attending the Tarland market, which long continued to be a scene and occasion of turbulence.

The problem of subsistence in the higher glens, where neither the habits of the people nor the conditions of soil and climate offered much prospect of relief through agriculture, was now graver than ever, and a time of great poverty and hardship set in shortly after the middle of the century, from which a certain amount of relief was found by the enlistment into the army of large numbers of the young men. The 43rd regiment or Black Watch, and also Keith's regiment and the Gordon Highlanders, both of which were raised in 1759, were largely recruited from West Aberdeenshire and the Highlands of Banffshire. In the development of another form of smuggling, namely, the illicit distillation of whisky and its transport to market in the large towns, the population of the remoter districts was generally implicated in the latter part of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century. By such means some money was obtained, and the perils and adventures of this demoralising traffic were in keeping with those of the cattle-lifting days. But by this time the old tenures were superseded, holdings were being consolidated and the arable land enclosed, sheep-farming had come into vogue as the best means of utilising the natural pasture of the hills, and "clearances," or compulsory removals of small occupiers from particular areas, were carried out from time to time. For the Highland tracts of the two counties, as for the Highlands generally, the last Jacobite insurrection was not so much a dynastic struggle as the expiring throes of the old social order; and if the adjustment of the population to the new economy was to be a slow process and attended by hardships, its completion was to be one of

the most beneficent changes recorded in social history. For the north-east of Scotland generally the last of our civil wars coincides with the beginning of the era of agricultural improvement and of a social and economic transformation greater than had been witnessed since it was colonised by the ancestors of its present inhabitants.

CHAPTER XIII.

NORTH-EASTERN COMMERCE AND AGRICULTURE—TRADE OF ABERDEEN WITH FLANDERS, HOLLAND, AND THE BALTIC—ITS CONNECTION WITH CAMPVERE—ABERDEEN MERCHANTS IN POLAND—RISE OF TEXTILE MANUFACTURES—EXTENT OF THE CLOTH AND HOSIERY TRADES OF ABERDEEN—WHY THE ABERDEEN TRADE FLOURISHED—THE TRADE OF BANFF—THE LINEN MANUFACTURE IN ABERDEENSHIRE—BACKWARDNESS OF HUSBANDRY TILL AFTER CULLODEN—THE EARLY IMPROVERS OF AGRICULTURE—SIR ARCHIBALD GRANT: THE EARL OF FINDLATER—DR JAMES ANDERSON—MIRACULOUS TRANSFORMATION ROUND ABERDEEN—BEGINNING OF TURNIP HUSBANDRY AND THE FAT CATTLE TRADE—CATTLE-BREEDING A SPECIALITY OF ABERDEENSHIRE—IMPROVED COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORT—THE FISHERIES—THE GRANITE TRADE.

ALL through its history the town of Aberdeen had been a place of considerable trade. From the days of its early Flemish settlers and of the Northern Hanse of the thirteenth century it had been the commercial capital of the north of Scotland,—the centre to which the produce of the adjacent country was forwarded for sale and export, and from which the merchandise brought from Flanders, Holland, and the Baltic was distributed. It had not, indeed, an entire monopoly of the northern sea-trade, for other ports, especially Banff and Inverness, had likewise commercial relations with the Continent; and as the staple articles of export were few, consisting chiefly of hides, furs, wool, and salmon, so the transactions of the merchants were on a very minor scale as compared with

present-day standards. The northern commerce with the Low Countries and with Danzig and Poland was carried on through Aberdeen merchants and agents abroad, to whom the exported commodities were consigned. Besides sending their own countrymen to act as intermediaries with the foreigners, the Scottish merchants had their staple port or emporium, under an arrangement with the local authorities, whereby protection of goods and exclusive privileges of trading were secured. After being fixed at Bruges, the Scottish staple was transferred to Campvere, in the island of Walcheren, on the marriage in 1444 of one of the daughters of James I. of Scotland to Wolfaert van Borselen, Lord of Campvere and Earl of Buchan. For three centuries and a half, by contracts renewed from time to time between the United Provinces and the Royal Burghs of Scotland, sometimes after a brief trial of another port, Campvere was the seat of the Scottish staple, where authorised factors, under the supervision of a Lord Conservator of Scottish Privileges as supreme judge, sold the goods of their Scottish principals. The trade of Aberdeen was on a relatively extensive scale in the seventeenth century, and Sir Patrick Drummond, one of the Conservators, reports that Aberdeen brought more money into Scotland than all its other towns.[1] Similarly Sir Samuel Forbes of Foveran, in his 'Description of Aberdeenshire,' written about the date of Mar's rebellion, states that no city in Scotland sent to the sea ships and cargoes of greater value and brought home more money in return, and that the loss of a single Aberdeen ship was more serious than the loss of ten ships of other towns.[2] Exports greatly preponderated over

[1] [Alex. Skene], Succinct Survey of the Famous City of Aberdeen (1685), p. 50 (1833 ed.)

[2] Collections, Spalding Club, p. 48.

imports, and the balance being adjusted by shipments of money, the silver currency of Holland passed into circulation in the north of Scotland. The Records of the Convention of Burghs bear witness to the constant interest that was taken by the commercial community of Aberdeen in the trade and privileges of the staple port, and members of burgess families —Skenes, Gordons, Gregorys, Lumsdens, and Allardeses— held from time to time, or in continuous succession, the coveted and lucrative office of factor.

The trade with the Hanseatic seaport of Danzig and with Poland likewise dates from an early period, and in the sixteenth century Danzig was resorted to by Scottish merchant-adventurers of all grades, from the wholesale dealer to the humble packman or pedlar. From the great Baltic port these Scotchmen passed inland to the Polish provinces, which for a time extended all the way from the Baltic to the Black Sea; and when Sir John Skene speaks of seeing multitudes of them at Cracow in 1569, and William Lithgow about the same period states the number of Scottish families in Poland at 30,000, we must conclude that, however this number may exaggerate, the migration had become a highly significant fact in the life of both countries. The population of Poland consisted of a small ruling class and a large body of serfs of the soil, without any intervening middle or commercial class; and the Scotchmen stepped in with their greater faculty for trade, and found scope for its exercise in supplying the few wants of a numerous if indigent people, and in purchasing and exporting the corn and the malt, flax, and fruit which the country produced.

Of the active participation of Aberdeen merchants in the Baltic trade of the latter part of the sixteenth century we have evidence in the number of names connected with

Danzig in the burgess-roll. A fee was exigible from burgesses for admission to the privilege of this trade, and in 1566 a special duty was imposed on all goods from Danzig for the expense of "the great light on the gable of St Ninian's Chapel" on the Castle Hill, which had become part of the equipment of the port of Aberdeen. The articles of export were few, but the Scottish merchants in Danzig entered into commercial relations with their fellow-countrymen at Campvere, and thus became dealers in all the commodities for which there was a market. That the Polish trade was on a large scale is shown by the fortunes which it enabled some of the Aberdeenshire merchants to amass. Two of the families largely concerned in it for generations were the Aedies and Skenes, who prospered sufficiently to become the purchasers of landed estates in their native country. Sir George Skene of Rubislaw, a retired Danzig merchant, was for years at the head of the municipality of Aberdeen; and members of both families, after their return from Danzig, took an active part in political as well as municipal affairs. So successful as a Danzig merchant was William Forbes, the founder of the Craigievar family, that he accumulated such riches as enabled him to acquire his numerous estates in Aberdeenshire and elsewhere. At a somewhat later date the estates united under the name of Turnerhall, in Buchan, were acquired with the fortune of John Turner, a Danzig merchant, who was also a benefactor of Marischal College. Another Danzig merchant was Robert Gordon, of the Straloch family, the founder of Robert Gordon's Hospital (now College), whose fortune may have been partly acquired in the corn-trade during "King William's dear years." Fergusons of a well-known Aberdeenshire family were largely concerned in banking and other enterprises in

Warsaw. Robert Low, merchant and postmaster of Danzig, was brother-in-law of the first provost, James Morison of Aberdeen, and uncle of the provost who withstood the Jacobites at the Market Cross in 1745. Leslies and Farquhars, sons and other relatives of the Covenanter provosts, with Chalmerses, Couttses, Burnets, and Barclays, Mores, Blacks, and Abercrombies, are among the other Aberdeenshire names connected with the trade in Poland. The Scottish merchants engaged in this trade sent £10,000 to Charles II. when he was in exile; and in 1700 the Aberdeenshire communities in Danzig and Königsberg were important enough in respect of numbers and wealth to be specially appealed to by the principal and regents for aid in defraying the cost of new buildings at Marischal College. A document preserved in the University archives gives the names of fifty-four Aberdonians resident in Königsberg and twenty-one in Warsaw who contributed to the fund, and the Danzig merchants appear also to have responded in a liberal spirit to the appeal.[1] Numbers of Aberdonians and other Scotchmen were settled at Cracow, Posen, Kulm, Thorn, Plock, Lipno, and all centres of population. When General Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries went from Aberdeen to Danzig as a young adventurer and soldier of fortune in the early days of the Commonwealth, he found his own countrymen everywhere as he travelled through Poland.[2] This state of things continued into the first half of the eighteenth century, when anarchy and war rendered the Polish cities and provinces untenable by their foreign merchants.

To the short list of commodities exported from Aberdeen in early days others were added in course of time. Aber-

[1] Records of Marischal College, vol. i. pp. 359, 360.

[2] See his Diary, edited by Dr Joseph Robertson.

deen pork had a great reputation in the seventeenth century. Such was the market for it at Campvere, for the victualling of Dutch ships, that an extensive curing industry was carried on in Aberdeen, where there was no local consumption of the article, and large numbers of pigs were raised by the farmers and millers of the two counties. After the Union, when the Dutch trade had fallen away, the victualling of the British navy afforded support for the pork industry, but it gradually shrank into comparative unimportance. The extent of the trade in lambskins may be estimated from the fact mentioned by Alexander Skene, that in the second quarter of the seventeenth century he knew an Aberdeen merchant who sent 30,000 to Danzig in one year; and, following the requirements of the climate and of fashion, one of Patrick Gordon's first acts as winter was approaching was to get his cloak transformed into a "Polish overcoat lined with sheepskins."

By this time, however, Aberdeen was carrying on an extensive manufacture of textile fabrics. Weaving, as we have seen, was practised in the town and county by the early Flemish settlers, and the websters or weavers are mentioned from time to time in the early documents as members of an organised guild. They produced coarse linens and woollens until the end of the sixteenth century, when Michael Wandail, a Fleming, received permission to settle in the town and to manufacture "grograms" and worsteds, on condition that he took into his employment an Aberdonian apprentice. This seems to mark a new point of departure in the Aberdeen trade, and within the next few years the Government was pressing the Convention of Burghs to follow up the initiative taken by the northern city. Proceeding on an Act passed by the Estates, the Convention sent commissioners to England, Flanders, and France to bring cloth-

makers to Scotland and establish "the art of making broadcloth, flemmings, frieses, grograms, and other stuffs" such as were made in Flanders of Scottish wool. One manufacturer was induced to come from Norwich, and after delay a few were brought from Flanders. The Privy Council, which had to complain of the want of zeal shown by the burghs, ordered that the small body of strangers should be kept together in the capital, where, however, they soon had to appeal to the Privy Council, as they did successfully, against local pressure to enter the guild of weavers. The burgesses were more zealous for the protection of their own privileges than for the expansion of trade and industry, and the Government, in the hope of promoting manufacture, issued a prohibition against the exportation of wool. An indication of the prevalence of home manufactures is given by Taylor, the London "Water Poet," who visited Braemar and other parts of the north of Scotland in 1618, and who asserts that the northern laird's linen was made from flax grown on his own land and spun by his family and servants, and that his hosiery was made from his own sheep's wool. Home-made linen was an item in Huntly's rental paid in kind in 1600.

Another contrast between public spirit in Aberdeen and the restrictive policy generally pursued is seen in 1636, during the provostship of Alexander Jaffray, the elder, when it was resolved to establish a "House of Correction," or prototype of the prison, reformatory, and industrial school of later days, where sturdy rogues and beggars, disobedient servants and children, and disorderly persons were to be employed on the manufacture of broadcloth, kerseys, seys, and other cloths as at "Saint Paul's Work in Edinburgh." A joint-stock company was formed to carry on the enterprise, and the magistrates agreed to contribute 2000 merks of tax-money to assist in providing and furnishing premises. At

the House of Correction, which gave its name to Correction Wynd, beside St Nicholas' Church, the business of spinning and weaving seems to have been carried on from the first on a scale of some importance, and during the Troubles the place was repeatedly plundered by warriors or camp-followers of the dominant faction. Some of the ideas of Jaffray and the other promoters of the House of Correction were adopted by Robert Johnston, an Aberdonian settled in London, who in 1640 bequeathed £600 sterling to the magistrates of Aberdeen to be employed in perpetuity as a capital sum whereby the aged, blind, lame, and impotent might be employed in trade and manufacture.[1] In 1703 the trustees invested this sum in a joint-stock company, of which a member of the Marischal family and the second Robert Barclay of Ury were promoters, formed for the purpose of carrying on woollen manufactures on a large scale at Gordon's mills on the Don, where there had been a fulling-mill for generations if not for centuries, and where the manufacture of paper had been started a few years before by Patrick Sandilands of Cotton, who may be regarded as the pioneer of this characteristic industry of Lower Donside. The Gordon's Mills Company developed the manufacture of the higher qualities of cloth, including half-silk serges, damasks, and plush; and skilled workmen were brought from France for the bleaching and other operations.

In the seventeenth century there was no district in Scotland that surpassed or even rivalled Aberdeen in the manufacture of cloth. Thomas Tucker, who reported to Cromwell's Government on the settlement of the Scottish customs and excise, states that plaidings were "made hereabout in greater plenty than in any other place of the nation whatsoever"; and in 1651 the export of this commodity to

[1] Mortifications, &c., of Aberdeen (1849), p. 114.

Campvere and Danzig was 73,538 ells, while a beginning had been made with the hosiery trade, which was to be the main resource of Aberdeen for many years after the demand for these fabrics had ceased. The trade in plaidings and fingrams seems to have been stimulated by a temporary demand by the Dutch West Indian Companies, in connection with the Brazilian plantations which they held in Tucker's time. The loss of these plantations by the Dutch, according to the contemporary testimony of Skene, was a "considerable cause" of decline in the trade, and another cause was the "insufficiency" or indifferent quality of the goods. The municipal authorities had exercised a certain supervision over articles for the export trade, which had in all cases to pass through the town's weigh-house and pack-house, the erection of which, in 1634, marks the growth of this trade.

The history of these industries reveals some significant facts in relation to the development of the social life and character of the people. The cloth for the home market was mainly a product of domestic industry. The wool was spun in the farmer's household into yarn, which was sent to country weavers of the neighbourhood to be made into cloth; and Aberdeenshire serge fabricated in this way was sold at fairs and by travelling packmen. Domestic industry also had its part in the manufactures for the export trade. Alexander Skene records an incident throwing much light upon the conditions under which the Aberdeen trade was carried on, and why it held its ground against southern competition. An Edinburgh merchant named Barnes, seeing the great extent of the plaiding export, and that the Aberdeen merchants purchased most of their wool in the south of Scotland and resold at a profit to the spinners and manufacturers, thought that by saving intermediate profits and

expenses he would be able to undersell the Aberdonians in the Dutch market. Accordingly he proceeded to set up his manufacture in Edinburgh and to export the product to Holland, but only to find that the Aberdeen goods were being sold below the cost-price of his stock. On mentioning the matter to one of the principal Aberdeen merchants, he received the reply that the people engaged in producing the Aberdeen plaidings "had not by far such entertainment" as the Edinburgh workers had, and drank pure spring water oftener than ale, and that this was the reason why the Aberdeen plaiding controlled the market. Barnes soon gave up the manufacture; but Skene goes on to say that, "notwithstanding that our commons live at such a sober rate, they are so set at work that in former years the product of their labours hath brought into this kingdom upwards of a hundred thousand rix-dollars for many years together. Without this the nobility and gentry in these parts could not get their money rents well paid."[1]

The hosiery trade was still more distinctively a domestic industry. By means of "rock and spindle" (for the spinning-wheel did not come into vogue till towards the middle of the eighteenth century) the wool was made into thread or worsted, which was knitted into stockings by the women and girls of the rural population. In the Cromwellian and Restoration periods the great promoter of the stocking trade in Aberdeen was a spirited citizen named George Pyper, who directly employed about 400 knitters and spinners, and attached a large number of the country people to his interest by giving them small advances of money or of linen goods. In an account of Buchan written about 1680, and attributed to Lady Anne Drummond, Countess of Erroll, it

[1] Skene, Memorials for the Government of the Royal Burghs in Scotland (1685), pp. 102-104.

is stated that the women of Aberdeenshire were mostly employed in spinning and working stockings and making plaiding webs, which were exported by the Aberdeen merchants: "And it is this which brings money to the common people; other ways of getting it they have not." In the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the hosiery trade was at its height, it brought from £100,000 to £120,000 into Aberdeenshire every year. The remuneration of the spinners and knitters at this time came to about two-thirds of the price of the goods, or over £70,000. The greater number of hands were employed on ordinary commercial goods, but the arts of the spinner and knitter were occasionally carried to a remarkable degree of elaboration. Pyper had samples of stockings of such fineness that they cost him over twenty shillings a pair; and a hundred years later Dr Anderson[1] mentions instances investigated by himself in which the workmanship with fine thread from the delicate fibres of Highland wool ran up the cost to four or even five guineas. A pair presented to Field-Marshal Keith are said to have been knitted of thread spun to such fineness that twenty-four miles of it came from a single pound of wool, and much greater fineness even than this is said to have been attained. Ladies' gloves at three guineas a pair were other products of the Aberdeen hosiery trade before the fine-fleeced native sheep was superseded in the hill districts by the hardier and more profitable breeds from the south of Scotland, or gave place to cattle in the low country.

Twenty-two mercantile houses in Aberdeen were engaged in the hosiery export trade in 1771. The merchants attended at the weekly market and country fairs and bought the products of the knitters' labour, while the Dean of Guild looked round the stalls and confiscated defective goods.

[1] Observations on National Industry (1777), pp. 84-86.

Numbers of the spinners and knitters were also directly in the employment of the merchants. So important was this trade as a source of income to the rural population, that it led to agricultural holdings being broken up and multiplied, and according to Dr Skene Keith it was the means of adding more than a third to the land rental of Aberdeenshire.[1]

After the special connection of Aberdeenshire with Danzig and Poland had ceased, the hosiery trade with Holland continued to extend until the stocking-frame impaired its remunerativeness to the hand-knitters, and the wars of the French Revolution closed the staple port (1795). To a certain extent there was also an export to England, Portugal, and America, but it did not attain to great proportions or long survive the introduction of the frame.

Banff had participated in the hosiery trade, and for a time it had a large export of thread to be manufactured into hosiery at Nottingham and Leicester. The local firm of Robinson & Co., which had developed the thread business, introduced an improved stocking-frame and carried on an extensive manufacture of silk, cotton, and worsted hosiery; but under the influence of English competition, and of further improvements in machinery and increased use of cotton, this manufacture was discontinued about 1816. By this time the Aberdeen hosiery trade had shrunk into small proportions, and 14,000 persons were employed in the linen, cotton, and woollen manufactures of Aberdeenshire, chiefly in the large factories of Lower Donside and the town of Aberdeen. Fifteen hundred children, from nine to fifteen years of age, were employed in 1810 in the cotton factories of Aberdeen and Woodside.

The first notable step in the great expansion which the linen trade received in the north-east was taken at Huntly

[1] Skene Keith, Agriculture of Aberdeenshire, p. 578.

about 1737, when Hugh MacVeagh, from Ireland, under the encouragement of the Duke of Gordon, started the manufacture of yarn, which so developed under his competent management that after a time he exported large quantities to London, Nottingham, Manchester, Glasgow, and Paisley, besides manufacturing a portion of his output into cloth. Another of MacVeagh's products was silk stockings. The records of Banff show that town to have been also responding, through recommendations of its public authorities and by the action of some of its inhabitants, to the initiative of the Board of Manufactures; and Bishop Pococke reports in 1760 that it subsisted by linen-yarn and shops. Aberdeen made application to the Board, after Culloden, for a woman qualified to instruct others in the art of spinning linen-yarn, and such progress was made in the art that before the end of the century more thread was made in Aberdeen than in any other town in Scotland.[1] Great linen works sprang up on the Don—the first and largest being the establishment of Leys & Co., at Gordon's Mills, and afterwards at Grandholm Haugh; and in Aberdeen, where the chief pioneer of the linen trade, as of local banking, was Provost Alexander Livingston, who had gained a fortune as a merchant in Holland, and lost it through too great devotion to the interests of the city. Aberdeen had its speciality in sewing-thread and in yarn for manufacturers in England and Scotland, and it suffered greatly in the days of "Grattan's Parliament" by the bounties which enabled the Irish manufacturers to undersell even in the Scottish markets.

The linen trade in the form of spinning and handloom weaving was carried on in most of the towns and villages in the two counties, and under its stimulus, with such other advantages as proximity of peat-fuel and allotments of land

[1] Warden, Linen Trade, p. 539.

on favourable terms, several new villages were erected by spirited proprietors in the second half of the eighteenth century, as Cuminestown, New Byth, Mormond Village (Strichen), New Keith, New Pitsligo (originally Cavoch), Stuartfield, and Fetterangus. Tomintoul in Upper Banffshire dates from the same period, but manufactures never had much part in its economy—except illicit distillation of whisky. Much flax was grown in the counties for a time, but as fibre imported from Holland was preferred by the manufacturers its cultivation fell off. Yet the spinning of linen-yarn was widely practised as a domestic industry when the woollen trade began to decline.

Though agriculture, including pasturage, was the mainstay of Aberdeenshire all through these troublous centuries, it had been carried on under circumstances of the greatest disadvantage, the people distracted from its pursuit by ever-recurring turmoils, and their possessions subject to the raids of the Highlanders and the burnings and ravages of political or baronial strife. The backwardness of tillage, which was characteristic of the whole country, was perhaps all the greater in the north-east by reason of the political energy so distinctive of its history. The seven seasons of crop-failure, distress, and famine, with which the seventeenth century closed, had the effect of reducing the condition of the landed interest and the numbers of the rural population, many of whom perished of hunger in some of the poorer districts, so that farms occupied by several families as joint tenants were left vacant.[1] Sheep-farming prevailed at this period under the stimulus of the demand for wool in connection with the hosiery and other woollen manufactures, but the flocks were depleted for food during the famine years, and had only just recovered when the fiscal arrangements of the Treaty of

[1] Statistical Account of Scotland (Sir J. Sinclair's), vol. vi. p. 121, &c.

Union stopped the exportation of Scottish wool to the profitable foreign markets, and so depreciated the price of the commodity all over the country. The counterbalancing rise in the price of cattle, through the opening of the English trade by the treaty, was not of much benefit to Aberdeenshire until the middle of the century, when the practice of "droving" from the north-eastern counties to the southern markets began. By this time a strong movement in the direction of agricultural improvement had set in. It was manifested first in some of the counties farther south, and notably in Haddingtonshire; but if Aberdeenshire cannot lay claim to priority in the march of agricultural improvement in the eighteenth century, it had among its newer landowners and those who had seen the world several energetic men who laboured zealously to bring it abreast of the most advanced practice.

One of the earliest and most influential of the north-eastern improvers was Sir Archibald Grant, to whom we are indebted for a vivid account of central Aberdeenshire in the period immediately following the rebellion of 1715. Land improvement at this time was little thought of anywhere in Scotland. Drainage was unknown, enclosures were rare, and the immemorial system of infield continuously under crop and outfield cropped occasionally, and of runrig and "baulks," everywhere prevailed. Sir Francis Grant, one of the Senators of the College of Justice (Lord Cullen), had acquired the old Forbes and Priory lands of Monymusk in 1712, and a few years afterwards he gave over the management to his son. At that time no part of the estate was enclosed, and there was no timber upon it except a few elm, sycamore, and ash trees about a small kitchen-garden adjoining the house, a few straggling trees at some of the farm-yards, and a dwarfish copse. All the farms were "ill disposed and mixed, different

persons having alternate ridges." Such land as was in culture belonged to the farms, and was "raised, uneven, and full of stones," the ridges crooked, and the land full of weeds and worn-out by cropping without proper manure or tillage. The people, Sir Archibald Grant goes on to say, were poor, ignorant, and slothful, and engrained enemies to planting, enclosing, or any improvements, or cleanness. There was no keeping of sheep, or cattle, or observance of roads except during four months when oats and bere were on the ground. The farm-houses, and even corn-mills, and the manse and school, were dirty huts, pulled in pieces for manure, or falling of themselves almost each alternate year.[1]

In another paper Sir Archibald Grant puts on record the facts that in his early days, soon after the Union, husbandry and manufactures were in low esteem; turnips raised in fields for cattle by the Earl of Rothes and some other improvers in the south were "wondered at." Colonel Middleton was the first who used carts or waggons about Aberdeen, and he and Sir Archibald, with the Duke of Gordon, were the first in the north who made hay. Aberdeen, this interesting narrative informs us, was then poor and small, having some Dutch and French trade in salmon, stockings, serges, and plaiding; it had (apparently through its Dutch trade) the first use of tea, "then very scarce and little used in Edinburgh"; and it supplied Edinburgh with French wines. "All improvements of security, husbandry, manufactures, or commerce," it is added, "are since 1707, with which literature, except school jargon, hath kept pace."[2]

John Wesley visited Monymusk in 1761, and again in 1764, and in his Journal he gives a very different picture of the place. He describes it as lying in a fruitful and pleasant valley, in which Sir Archibald Grant had reclaimed

[1] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. ii. pp. 96, 97. [2] Ibid., pp. 90-100.

a large area of waste ground and planted millions of trees, and states that the cultivation, especially near the manor-house, would compare favourably with that prevailing in England. "Certainly," reflects Wesley, "this is a nation swift to hear and slow to speak, though not slow to wrath;" and he mentions that Grant had given much attention to the improvement of church music, and that after sermon thirty or forty persons sang an anthem with such voices, as well as judgment, as could hardly have been excelled at any cathedral in England. A more practical observer than Wesley, namely Andrew Wight, a skilled farmer in Haddingtonshire, who was appointed surveyor to the Commissioners of the Annexed Estates—the body charged with the administration of the estates forfeited after the rebellion of 1745—visited Monymusk in 1779, and reports that the culture of the home-farm was equal to any he had ever seen. A skilled overseer from East Lothian had been placed in charge of it, and had received leases on his own account of two other farms on the estate in order that he might give an example of good husbandry to the people around him.

But it was only after great pains and many discouragements that these brilliant results had been achieved. It was the common experience of the early improvers, who were not few, and of whom Sir Archibald Grant must be regarded as a leader and type, to have many obstacles and obstructions to contend with. The farmers were in nearly all cases slow to abandon their old ways, and a stirring address which he delivered to his tenants at the beginning of 1756 has been preserved, wherein he endeavours once more to rouse them to a serious consideration of their own interest. In their resistance to the enclosing of land, on the ground apparently of its interference with the old system of common pasturage, they had thrown down fences and wantonly destroyed young trees and

crops, and he lectures them on this foolish display of militant agrarianism, and, as a man of business who had gained costly experience in great enterprises and in the London world of finance, he tries to impress them with such considerations as that some who were diligent misapplied their labour by clinging to the old ways, and that others spent much time in sauntering about, or on trifles, and even when ostensibly at work were "as if half-dead or asleep."

The pioneer of agricultural improvement in Banffshire was the Earl of Findlater, long the most active as well as the most sagacious nobleman in the north-east, and patron of the city of Aberdeen. As Lord Deskford he went to reside on his estate near Banff about 1754. Taking one of his farms into his own occupation, he proceeded to cultivate it in accordance with the best agricultural practice of the day. After a time he placed three experienced "overseers" from England on farms in different parts of Lower Banffshire, where they introduced a style of agriculture hitherto unknown in the district; and further to carry out his schemes, he consolidated several small holdings into single farms and let them on long leases, binding the tenants to enclose and divide the land with stone or other fences and pursue a certain style of cropping. Lord Findlater was the first to introduce the turnip husbandry and sown-grass into his county, and by example and precept he succeeded in effecting a revolution in the agriculture of Banffshire. As head of the Board of Trustees for Manufactures, and otherwise, he also did much to develop the linen industry in his own county and elsewhere.

Among those who rendered conspicuous service to agricultural progress in Aberdeenshire was Mr Alexander Udny of Udny, the representative of one of the oldest landed families, who was a Commissioner of Excise for Scotland, and in emulation of well-managed estates in the south brought the

land around his residence into the highest order, divided it into square fields, enclosed by hedges, behind which were lanes or "walks" planted with four rows of beech and elm, and erected commodious farm-buildings which he filled with a select herd of cattle, partly from Berwickshire and England and partly of the indigenous breed, and with a stud of horses "full blood on both sides." By consolidation of several holdings he formed the large farm of Monkshill, on another part of the estate, and let it at a very moderate rent to Mr James Anderson, a young man of good family in Mid-Lothian, afterwards widely known as a political economist and agricultural writer, a Doctor of Laws and Fellow of the Royal Society, and in practical agriculture the inventor of the small two-horse plough without wheels. To Dr Anderson, who married the heiress of the Aberdeenshire family of Seton of Mounie and assumed her name, we are indebted for an exact and contemporaneous account of the rise and early progress of the new husbandry in Aberdeenshire.

One of the wonders of the new era was seen in the neighbourhood of the city of Aberdeen, where a bleak and stony wilderness was converted into fertile fields and luxuriant gardens. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century the cultivated land about Aberdeen consisted almost exclusively of sandy tracts near the sea and the rivers, which under the stimulus of heavy manuring yielded abundant crops of garden-stuffs and barley. The land being scarce and its rent very high, the great aim was to extract from the soil the maximum of produce, and a kind of culture was introduced which, according to Dr Anderson, was greatly superior to what could be found in any other part of Scotland.[1]

Aberdeen was bounded on the one side by the sea, and for the rest by a broad tract of barren moorland, hither-

[1] Agriculture and Rural Economy of Aberdeenshire, pp. 18, 19.

to deemed incapable of cultivation. By means of drainage some swampy ground, called the Provost's Mire, had been reclaimed by Provost Fordyce, at a somewhat earlier date; and when the era of land improvement was beginning, Provost Alexander Robertson, by way of example, leased from the town and drained a small part of the Lochlands (now covered with streets and houses), and where malaria had hitherto reigned he began to raise crops of astonishing richness. The rough land about the Gilcomston and Ferryhill suburbs—consisting of boulder-clay, with stones more abundant on the surface than herbage—had been let to five tenants, three of whom became bankrupt while the other two were following suit, when, under the initiative of such men as Provosts Robertson and Livingston, the municipal authorities resolved to dispose of the barren lands about the town in permanence at a fixed yearly feu-duty.

The first result of this step was a great increase of revenue. Several of the wealthier citizens acquired land for suburban residences, and presently it was found that an "enthusiasm of agriculture" had broken out. The feuars cleared and trenched their grounds at great expense, which, on the opportune rise of the demand for granite paving-stones in London, was partly reimbursed from the sale of the immense crop of rock and boulders with which the surface was covered. Thus thousands of acres were brought under cultivation and let at rents of from five to eight pounds an acre. "In any other part of the world which I have seen," writes Dr Anderson in 1775, "it would be reckoned impossible to convert such soils to any valuable use, and the most daring improver I have met with anywhere else would shrink back from attempting to cultivate a field which an Aberdeen man would consider as a trifling labour."[1] The cost of reclaiming

[1] National Industry (1777), p. 65.

these lands in some cases was as high as £100 an acre, a fourth part of which would be recovered by the disposal of the stones for shipment to London. These lands, moreover, continued to be cultivated with care and attention, and according to Anderson the crops were better and the rents were higher than in any other part of Great Britain.[1]

On this striking passage in local history, which is not only worthy of attention in relation to general economics, but presents a condensed and typical view of the process by which a large part of Aberdeenshire was transformed from waste into agricultural land, we have not only the testimony of Dr Anderson but also that of Andrew Wight, who in his official capacity of agricultural expert and surveyor visited the county after he had carried out his inquiries in many other parts of Scotland, and bears witness that "there is perhaps no place in the world where a spirit of husbandry has made such a figure as about Aberdeen." This new departure had hardly begun at the middle of the century, and within thirty years Wight could report that, "as far as one can cast his eye round Aberdeen, there is not a vestige of the moor remaining."

In the general report summarising the result of Sir John Sinclair's great inquiry into the agriculture of Scotland at the close of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, it is stated that the most striking feature in the cultivation of the north-east Lowlands was this reclamation of barren land in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, but that the district in general was distinguished by the very great perfection to which the turnip husbandry, with artificial grasses, had been carried, and by the great numbers of excellent cattle which it was rearing and sending to England. About a third of the population resided in towns, and though there was no coal in

[1] National Industry (1777), p. 66.

the district, and nearly one-half of the lime which was extensively applied to the land had to be imported, yet by the exportation of cattle, fish, pork, and occasionally grain, and by the demand in the populous manufacturing city of Aberdeen for the produce of the soil, Aberdeenshire was enabled to carry on its expensive agricultural improvements.

The new "green crops" were introduced into Aberdeenshire by the improving landowners—Sir Archibald Grant, Burnett of Kemnay, and others—about 1750. The grass-husbandry rapidly spread; but as turnip culture involved much more labour and a greater change of system, it made little progress till after the famine of 1782. Robert Barclay of Ury, great-grandson of the author of the 'Apology' for the Quakers, having studied agriculture among his friends in Norfolk, became, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the most effective leader of improvement in these parts. While other landowners worked through managers and overseers, or by inducing skilled farmers to settle on their estates, Barclay was his own captain of industry; and though he brought some labourers from Norfolk, he showed, and even enforced by his own hand, how such novel work as hoeing should be done.[1] He employed from forty to sixty labourers, many of whom carried their training and knowledge to other places, and in this way, as well as by his splendid agricultural results, he stimulated improvement and energetic industry all over the north-east. In Aberdeenshire, as throughout Scotland, the landowners were still the great promoters of progress in the art and practice of agriculture. They pressed it forward at first upon a reluctant population, but ultimately the farmers were enlisted, and in the nineteenth century the reclamation of land from bog and moor has been almost exclusively carried out by them. The distress of 1782-83 carried its lessons

[1] Robertson, Agriculture of Kincardineshire, p. 347.

home to the farmers, and led to an immediate abatement in their adherence to the old ways, and henceforth stock-raising assumed a new importance in the rural economy of the two counties. Dr Skene Keith was minister of Keithhall at the time of this famine, and taking a retrospect of all that had passed under his observation during the eventful quarter of a century that followed, he remarks that the calamitous season of 1782 compelled such of the farmers as were not ruined by it to abandon their old system of husbandry and introduce turnips and sown grass; while the landed proprietors saw that it was necessary to select good tenants for vacant farms, and either to induce or oblige them to improve the land.[1] From this famine dates the rapid start forward of the new husbandry that was to place Aberdeenshire and Banffshire at the head of beef-producing counties. Hitherto there were not two hundred acres of land put under turnips in any year by the farmers of Aberdeenshire, as distinguished from the proprietors, but in a few years the area devoted to this crop was 20,000 acres. Hitherto, also, the heavy work-oxen, used in teams of ten or twelve for ploughing, had been imported from the Lothians and Fifeshire, but now nearly all the cattle in the county were raised at home, and Aberdeenshire began to have a large export trade. Dealers from the south had been buying a few store cattle from the county for nearly twenty years, but now the output began to assume extensive proportions. Ploughing with these costly teams was gradually abandoned in favour of the improved plough drawn by a pair of horses or of oxen; but the old lumbering plough and team were still common in Aberdeenshire in 1794, though they had disappeared in other regions of improved agriculture.[2]

The extension of the cultivated area was greatly encouraged

[1] Agriculture of Aberdeenshire, p. 462.

[2] Anderson, Agriculture and Rural Economy of Aberdeenshire, p. 77.

by the high prices that prevailed during the long war-period, and the usual arrangement was that the tenant-farmers, for a certain number of years, received the use of the new land they brought under the plough at a nominal or very moderate rent. In many cases the stone fences with which the farms were enclosed and their fields divided, and even the farm buildings, were erected by the farmer, and represented so much sunk capital which he was to recover either from his successor in the tenancy or from the landowner. Thus the security afforded by leases became the basis of land improvement throughout Aberdeenshire, and the work of improvement was energetically taken up by the class whose predecessors had been so slow to move.

These two counties are pre-eminently the counties of small farms. Comparatively few agricultural holdings in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire are so large as to yield a rent of £200 per annum. "Crofts" and farms under £50 of rent are by far the most numerous class of holdings, and of those above this limit a large majority are under £100. Many of these farms have been formed by consolidation of still smaller holdings, and are a result of the persevering and self-denying industry of men whose recompense was miserably disproportionate to their exertions.

The cattle trade was placed on a greatly improved footing when the new root-crops put an end to the old difficulty about the wintering of cattle, but during the first quarter of the nineteenth century the surplus stock of the two counties was for the most part sent in a comparatively lean state in "droves" to the south of Scotland or to England. In 1810 this surplus numbered about 12,000 animals, and brought in a revenue of nearly £150,000. It was not until 1827, when steam navigation provided direct access to the London market without the "loss of condition" and other drawbacks inci-

dental to droving, that the trade in fat cattle was established on a considerable scale, and years were still to elapse before Aberdeenshire acquired its reputation as purveyor of "prime Scotch" beef to the Metropolis.

Turnip-culture, on which this trade depended so much, was greatly advantaged by the introduction of crushed bones and guano—manures that specially suited Aberdeenshire soils and greatly enhanced the crop. But quite as important an element in the art of beef-production as practised in these counties is the careful attention paid to the quality of the animals and to the special art of cattle-breeding. Another Barclay of Ury—Captain Robert Barclay-Allardice, the famous athlete and son of the agricultural improver already mentioned—formed about the date of the opening of steam navigation a magnificent herd of Durham or Teeswater cattle, from which drafts of breeding-stock were sold off at high prices every year, many of the animals passing into Aberdeenshire. Several of the Aberdeenshire agriculturists began shortly afterwards to give close attention to this subject of cattle-breeding, and in particular Mr William M'Combie of Tillyfour, and the brothers Anthony and Amos Cruickshank—M'Combie experimenting with the native Aberdeenshire black polled or hornless cattle, and the Cruickshanks with the Durham short-horned breed. Through these famous breeders and others a great improvement began to be apparent not only in the symmetry but likewise in the beef-producing qualities of the Aberdeenshire ox. The short-horned and black polled breeds, and first crosses between them, nourished on feeding-stuffs the chief of which were the root-crops supposed to derive special qualities from the soil of Aberdeenshire, were found to produce beef of the best quality in a minimum of time. The north-eastern farmers devoted themselves with pre-eminent success to cattle-breeding and cattle-feeding, the fame of their herds extended far and

wide, and no county in the kingdom produced beef commanding so high a price in the Smithfield market. The rapidity of railway transit was another gain to the cattle trade, and latterly much of the beef of Aberdeenshire has been sent to England in the form of dead meat.

Altogether, it is computed, the beef of at least 60,000 cattle leaves the two counties every year as their contribution to the food-supply of the great towns, and chiefly London, yielding a return to the farmers which is roughly estimated at £1,500,000, or little short of twice the agricultural rental. And this is after meeting the greatly increased consumption in the city of Aberdeen, with the residential district of Deeside, and the numerous smaller towns throughout the counties. The stock of cattle in the two counties is 28 for every hundred acres of arable land, whereas in Norfolk the proportion is only 11.5. Cattle-raising and cattle-feeding are the basis of north-eastern agriculture, and the chief business of the Aberdeenshire farmer. Large flocks of sheep are kept in summer on the hills not reserved for deer, and are wintered in the low country. The corn crops are oats and barley, very little wheat being grown. But it is by their cattle that the agriculture of the two counties flourishes.

How very modern much of our progress is, may be illustrated by such facts as that not only the electric telegraph and the railway, but even steam navigation, had its practical origin within the range of living memory. In the early part of the eighteenth century, as we have seen, wheeled vehicles were unknown in Aberdeenshire. Except for the military roads, one of which entered the county by the Cairnwell, and passed by way of Castleton of Braemar, Glengairn, and Corgarff into Banffshire, and another by the Cairn-a-Mounth, Alford, and Huntly, both constructed after the battle of Culloden, roads in the modern sense were almost unknown in the two

counties until about the close of the eighteenth century. Yet in 1810 Dr Skene Keith could say that no other county in Great Britain had laid out so much money as Aberdeenshire on roads of all descriptions.[1] Within fourteen years 300 miles of turnpike road had been constructed, and "commutation" or "statute labour" roads had been made in all directions from these main thoroughfares. It was in 1765 that the judges of the Circuit Court of Justiciary first travelled to Aberdeen in chaises instead of on horseback, but the first mail-coach from the south did not arrive till 1798, performing the journey from Edinburgh in twenty-one hours, and it was not till 1811 that coaches for the conveyance of passengers were finally placed on the new road between Aberdeen, Huntly, Elgin, and Inverness. With the road came the cart, and an enormous advance in the means of transport; and the Aberdeenshire Canal, designed by Telford, and opened for traffic in 1806, provided water-carriage between the harbour of Aberdeen and the centre of the county at Inverurie. The canal continued in operation, to the great benefit of the district, until the railway was constructed in its track.

After agriculture the most important industry of the two counties is their fisheries. Since the introduction of trawling by steam-vessels, about 1882, Aberdeen has become the chief centre of the Scottish fish-trade. The value of the fish discharged on its quays is three times that of the produce of the sea at any other Scottish port, and almost as great a value accrues to Aberdeenshire and Banffshire from sea-fisheries as to all the rest of Scotland, with its islands. The herring-fishing was prosecuted off the Scottish coasts by the Dutch for centuries before Scottish fishermen could be induced to participate in it except on the most insignificant scale. Much resentment was excited against the strangers,

[1] Agriculture of Aberdeenshire, p. 535.

who were accused of despoiling Scotland of the wealth of its seas, and many efforts were made by the Government and local authorities, by means of bounties and otherwise, to stimulate effective competition with the fishermen of the nation whose chief city was said to be founded on herring bones. In 1612 the magistrates of Aberdeen purchased a fully equipped fishing-vessel in Holland, and engaged a Dutch master, who was to take charge of it and indoctrinate the Aberdonians in the catching and curing of fish, but nothing more is heard of the matter; and half a century afterwards we find Gordon of Straloch rebuking his countrymen for their want of enterprise, and pointing reproachfully to the fleets of Dutch busses that were busily at work within sight of the shores of Aberdeenshire.[1] Except in the western sea-lochs few herrings were caught by Scottish fishermen before the present century, and Adam Smith tells us that in his time it was too common for vessels to be fitted out for the purpose of catching not the fish but the Government bounty on the tonnage of the vessels. The herring fishery was introduced at Peterhead in 1820, when Fraserburgh had just begun to prosecute it on a moderate scale. The first systematic attempt to establish this fishery in Aberdeen took place in 1836, but it was not developed here to any great extent till after 1870. Wick was long the headquarters of the herring fishery, and the most important fishing town in Scotland; but when, in 1870, the fishing began generally to be carried on in the deep sea, and large decked vessels took the place of the old-fashioned boats that never went far from the land, the three Aberdeenshire ports, with their large harbours and their advantageous geographical position in relation to the open sea, became the great seats of this fishery, and the resorts, during the season, of boats from all the minor ports and from

[1] Spalding Club Collections, p. 5.

England, and of large numbers of men and women—chiefly from the Hebrides—for temporary employment in connection with the fishing and curing operations.

Through the herring trade the old commercial connection between the north-east of Scotland and the Baltic is continued, the cured fish being, for the most part, consigned to German and Russian ports. Fraserburgh depends almost exclusively, and Peterhead to a large extent, on the trade in cured herrings; while the development of the general fish-trade, chiefly in connection with trawling and by means of rapid transport by railway, has in recent years contributed much to the prosperity of Aberdeen. The salmon-fisheries of the Dee, the Don, the Deveron, and the Spey long yielded the article of export for which Aberdeen was principally famous. These fisheries, which have been carried on from time immemorial, are probably as productive as ever, but they have lost their relative importance as a source of wealth.

The granite trade is another characteristic industry of the north-east of Scotland. "Granite is the most valuable mineral in this county," wrote Dr Skene Keith in 1810, "and has brought gold into Aberdeen"; but quarrying of granite even for local use, in common with the cattle trade and the highly developed sea-fisheries, is of comparatively recent origin. For architectural purposes, as in the building of the older churches in Aberdeen—the Cathedral of St Machar, the old Church of St Nicholas, and the Greyfriars' Church—freestone was brought by sea from the Morayshire coast and the Firth of Forth; and so far as granite was used at all in building, it was taken from the abundant supplies scattered over the surface of the ground in the form of boulders. In 1604 a patent was granted for five years for opening a quarry in the freedom lands of Aberdeen to supply the inhabitants with lintels for doors and windows, but it was not until the period between

the two Jacobite rebellions that James Emslie, of Loanhead, initiated systematic quarrying. The superiority of the stones from the Loanhead quarries was so manifest in the buildings erected at this time that quarrying was henceforth an established industry in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen, which now began to assume its modern aspect as "the Granite City." Between 1780 and 1790 about six hundred men were employed in the Aberdeen quarries, chiefly in connection with the demand from London for paving-stones. Union Bridge, with its great span of 130 feet and its rise of only 29 feet from the spring of the arch, designed by Telford, and completed in 1803, is a striking memorial of the perfection to which granite working had been carried by that time. Great works of local improvement involving the use of granite—street-making and pier and harbour extension—were carried out on such a scale as to land the town in temporary financial embarrassment in 1817, the works being costly and not immediately remunerative, though the improvements were sound in themselves and for the ultimate benefit of the city. Large blocks of granite from Aberdeen and Peterhead came into demand for engineering works, such as the Bell Rock lighthouse, the foundations of Waterloo Bridge and London Bridge, and generally where great strength and durability were required. Granite polishing, which had its beginnings in the workroom of the lapidary, was begun on a considerable scale for monumental purposes and structural ornamentation about 1820 by Mr Alexander Macdonald, who thus initiated a new industry which was to grow and prosper and to form the basis of an export trade from Aberdeen to all parts of Britain, and to America and the Colonies.

The several textile trades are represented in Aberdeen by woollen, linen, cotton, and jute factories—some of them on a large scale; and the woollen manufacture is also carried on

to an important extent at Keith and on the Ugie. Of comb-making the city has an almost complete monopoly, paper-making is carried on at four large establishments on the Don and one on the Dee, and the shipbuilding and engineering trades are likewise firmly rooted. From the variety and multiplicity of its interests, Aberdeen suffers less from depressions of trade than large towns dependent upon a single great industry. It is the headquarters of two banking establishments, of one of the large fire and life insurance offices, and of the railway system of the two counties, while it is the northern terminus of the East and West Coast railway services from London. Distillation of whisky is extensively carried on in both counties, particularly in Banffshire. Agriculture, however, continues to be the leading industry, and nowhere is it carried on to better purpose in all that pertains to the raising and feeding of cattle.

CHAPTER XIV.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PEOPLE—INFLUENCES OF RACE, HISTORY, AND PHYSICAL CIRCUMSTANCES—TEUTON AND CELT: "NATURAL SELECTION"—SUCCESS OF THE EARLY IMMIGRANTS—LAND AND PEOPLE—SITUATION UNFAVOURABLE TO INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE: ABERDONIAN ENTERPRISE IN SHIPPING, FOREIGN AND COLONIAL TRADE, AND BANKING—FORMER EXTENSIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE TRADE OF THE WEST INDIES—ABERDONIANS IN FOREIGN ARMIES: THE SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE AND THEIR GREAT SUCCESS—IN THE BRITISH SERVICE: EMPIRE MAKERS—LUMSDEN, OUTRAM, SIR WILLIAM M'GREGOR, GENERAL GORDON—NAVAL OFFICERS—STATESMANSHIP AND ADMINISTRATION—JURISTS AND JUDGES—ECCLESIASTICS—MEDICAL MEN—TRAVELLERS—INVENTORS—GIFTED FAMILIES AND HEREDITARY GENIUS: THE GREGORYS, REIDS, FORDYCES, ETC.—ABERDEEN SOCIETY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—PRINCIPAL CAMPBELL AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES—"THE WISE CLUB"—ENGLISH STUDENTS: BURNEY, COLMAN—HALL AND MACKINTOSH—DR JOHNSON'S VISIT—HONORARY BURGESS-SHIP—ABERDEENSHIRE POETS AND MEN OF LETTERS—BURNS AND SKINNER—BYRON—CRITICISM—PHILOSOPHY: ABERDEEN THE BIRTHPLACE OF THE SCOTTISH SCHOOL—THE ASSOCIATION PHILOSOPHY—HISTORY A SPECIALITY—JOURNALISM: PERRY, GORDON BENNETT, DOUGLASS COOK, ETC.—ARTISTS AND ARCHITECTS—ABERDEEN SCHOLARS: LATINISTS, HELLENISTS, AND ORIENTALISTS—THE INFLUENCE OF EDUCATION.

THROUGHOUT this long course of years there are apparent certain characteristics of the people of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, the result partly of race and partly of environment, which differentiate them from their fellow-countrymen, and to some extent explain the distinctive part they have played as local communities or as individual participants in the

world's affairs. These characteristics had their earliest historical manifestations in the territorial lords, who were the political administrators and military leaders of the province, and in some of the great churchmen. It was the fortune of this north-eastern region, in its comparative isolation between the Grampians and the sea, to be under the influence at an early date of some of the most enlightened and widely experienced of Scottish statesmen—such as David Earl of Huntingdon and the Garioch, acting through his Leslie deputy, and successive heads of the great houses of Cumyn, Durward, Byset, and Cheyne—who had their part in national as well as provincial affairs, and were imbued with the culture and chivalry of their time. But influences of a deeper character are to be traced from the early history of these counties. Scandinavians, Anglo-Saxons, and Flemings came in and possessed the land, absorbing the Celtic remnant and forming a new population in which all these elements were blended. The rulers were for the most part of Norman-French descent, but in the main the several Teutonic streams arrived in their native force unmodified by softening strains acquired in their progress hither. The rude strength of the Scandinavian Vikings sufficed for the conquest of the Scottish islands and much of the mainland; but neither in itself nor with native Celtic admixture has it exercised a commanding influence on the destinies of the country. In Aberdeenshire it was soon united with more practical elements derived from German and Flemish sources. The strongly marked peculiarities of the north-eastern dialect bear witness still to the special form of the early Teutonic predominance in these counties. One of the writers in Sir John Sinclair's 'Statistical Account of Scotland' remarks of the people of Buchan that they

seem to differ considerably from those of other parts of the country: he thought them wanting in the liveliness of imagination and warmth of feeling that existed elsewhere, and remarks that in their phlegmatic type of character they are more akin to Dutchmen than to the other inhabitants of Scotland.[1] With this temperament we may associate the caution here so markedly observable in the average mind, of which illustrations are seen in some of the most characteristic phases of Aberdeenshire history — such as the early resistance to agricultural improvement or the disfavour shown to ecclesiastical change. William Meston did not belie their characteristics when he wrote of the inhabitants of Aberdeenshire as a people who "live quietly and pay their cesses," loving "a creed that's short and sound," and who

> "are not fond of innovations,
> Nor covet much new Reformations;
> They are not for new paths, but rather
> Each one jogs after his old father;
> In other things discreet and sober,
> Their zeal no warmer than October."[2]

This constitutional aversion to newfangled ways is distinguishable, however, from mere slothful indifference: it has always been accompanied by a readiness to uphold with boundless zeal and energy the cause believed to be right and beneficial, or to give effect to innovations that have commended themselves to the general mind and conscience. A severe process of "natural selection" was early brought to bear on the character of the Aberdeenshire population. While part of the former inhabitants remained on the land as bondmen and were ultimately absorbed, another part were driven into the upland and mountainous districts, from which

[1] Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xv. pp. 295, 296.
[2] Meston, Mob contra Mob, canto iii.

they long continued to carry on a guerilla of reprisal stimulated by poverty. For weak or timid men, accordingly, there could be no place among the pioneers of the Teutonic colonisation. The Cumyn and Durward statesmen of Scotland had to face in their territorial spheres and withstand from their fortress-castles the resentment and lawlessness of an old population displaced by strangers, and either reduced to a condition of bondage or driven into the Highland glens to become the progenitors of "caterans," who regarded the cattle and goods of the low country as their lawful prey. The immigrants were of hardy stocks, and their environment kept in exercise the qualities that make for self-preservation, and developed potentialities that were to bear fruit many centuries afterwards when the men of Aberdeenshire and Banffshire became again the pioneers of empire and administrators of law among subject or barbarous peoples. Among these qualities a prominent place must be assigned to what may be broadly generalised under the name of governing capacity. Great military expeditions to the north, like those of Malcolm Canmore, Malcolm the Maiden, and the first Alexander, drove back the Celts and planted new settlers on the land. The new barons, to whom these territories were granted as rewards of military service, and often as the direct fruits of conquest, must have been men of nerve, prepared at any moment to defend their possessions. But other qualities than military prowess and courage were called forth. The hardy adventurers who thus laid hold of the land, and fought when necessary in assertion of their new rights, combined with their vigour in repressive action a tactful attention to the arts of peace and skill in dealing with the conditions under which they found themselves placed. The Cumyns not only ruled in Buchan but established themselves among the Celtic population of Badenoch,

and the Gordons exercised great influence over the large body of Celts under their sway in Banffshire, Strathbogie, and Deeside. Though feuds between families were frequent in the Lowland parts, we hear little of race conflict except where raiders from within the Highland line made irruptions into the low country; and this significant fact must be attributed in part to the success with which the new lords cultivated the arts of peace among the remnants of the old population on their domains.

The physical aspects of the counties have affected in no small degree the character and history of their people. This has been seen in comparatively recent times in the case of land reclamation carried out at an almost incredible cost in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen by a comparatively wealthy class, and over a large part of the two counties by the toil and self-sacrifice of the small farmers and crofters. Not only was the land in itself difficult to bring under cultivation, but the irregular and hilly contour of much of the country rendered it permanently difficult to work, and the crops which it bore were in upland places meagre and uncertain. These untoward conditions served to bring into exercise some of the distinctive traits of character inherited by Aberdeenshire men, who on the whole had marvellous success in this conflict with the forces of nature. When we pass from agriculture to commerce, the effects of physical and geographical circumstances are equally manifest. Nature has not endowed the north-east with the mineral resources or other economic advantages from which arise the great seats of commerce, manufacture, and thriving population. "Merchant princes" must accordingly be looked for elsewhere, and Aberdonians who have attained to that rank have in general begun by transferring themselves and their endowments to some more advantageously situated sphere of action. Two important lines

of steamships, the one trading with Australia and the other with Natal and South-east Africa, are registered and owned in Aberdeen,[1] each being called "the Aberdeen line"; but all their sailings are from London, which also is their home destination. Before the days of iron steamships in long-voyage ocean transit these two lines were represented by fleets of the swift-sailing vessels known all over the world as the "Aberdeen Clippers"—a class of ocean-racers built on the Dee which were long supreme in the China tea trade as well as in the rapidly growing commerce of Australia.[2] Nor is it irrelevant to remark that of the two men chiefly instrumental in building the longest railway in the British Empire—the Canadian Pacific—the one, Lord Mount Stephen, was born on the eastern bank of the Spey, and began the work of life in Aberdeen; while the other, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, sprang from the region immediately beyond that river, and is of the same north-eastern stock. Both went in early life to the British empire beyond the sea, and in colonial commerce acquired the wealth and developed the practical foresight that enabled them to carry out this great enterprise.

In former days the Dutch and Baltic or Polish trades afforded a sufficient sphere for the merchant Forbeses, Aedies, Skenes, and Farquhars; at a later period other Forbeses founded and carried on the great mercantile and banking house in Bombay known by their name; while John Farquhar, the successor of Beckford in the ownership of Fonthill, amassed his wealth as an army contractor and merchant

[1] Messrs George Thompson & Co., and J. T. Rennie & Sons.

[2] The part taken by Aberdonians in the mercantile marine is further illustrated by the fact that Sir Thomas Sutherland, M.P., is managing director of the largest of British shipping concerns—the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company; while one of the two firms managing the competitive Orient Line, Messrs Anderson, Anderson, & Co., is likewise of north-eastern Scottish origin.

in India. The cautious temperament and shrewdness of the Aberdonian have achieved marked success in the departments of banking and finance; and it is noteworthy that the first provincial bank in Scotland was projected in the north-eastern city, while of the ten joint-stock corporations in whose hands all Scottish banking is now concentrated two have their headquarters there. Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo was head of the most important of the Scottish private banks, which was ultimately united with a joint-stock establishment to form the Union Bank of Scotland; and of the London bankers, the Farquhars are descendants of Provost Sir Robert Farquhar; the great banking-house of Barclay & Company was founded, and, in the second century of its existence, is still directed by descendants of the Quaker Apologist and neighbour of Aberdeen; and the Couttses were of an Aberdeenshire stock which migrated southward by stages to London. Robert Arbuthnot of Paris and David Gregorie of Dunkirk were Aberdeenshire bankers carrying on business in France in the eighteenth century; and the development of commerce in the nineteenth century has placed in the local or general management of eastern and colonial banks many responsible officers who began life in the north-east of Scotland.

The same spirit of enterprise, finding larger scope for itself than these counties afforded within their own limits, has been shown in other directions. It is surprising how many landed estates in Aberdeenshire and the adjacent counties were purchased by means of fortunes acquired in the trade of the West Indies. Some of the new proprietors, as Sir John Gladstone (whose Kincardineshire estates extended into the basin of the Dee), were strangers to the north-east; but the West Indian Gordons, Farquharsons, Shands, Leith-Lumsdens, Allardyces, and Towers went out as at least comparatively poor men from the district in the land of which they ultimately

acquired a stake. That Aberdeen itself was for a time deeply concerned in the prosperity of the West Indies, and even had a direct shipping trade with that part of the world, is a half-forgotten fact of local history of which a memento survives in "Sugarhouse Lane," and a second sugar refinery was erected by James Moir, the Jacobite laird of Stonywood, near his residence in Lower Donside. Apart from those who acquired considerable landed estates in the north-eastern counties, a number of retired planters and others who had spent part of their lives in the West Indies became possessors of residential properties in the suburbs or vicinity of the city. In such records as the college lists, the obituaries in the old files of the local newspapers, and the inscriptions on tombstones, a remarkably large number of Aberdeenshire names connected with the West Indies are met with. Medical practitioners were supplied by Aberdeen for their unhealthy climate, and from many a parish manse young men, equipped with little riches beyond their own talents and a sound practical education, went to the West Indies a century ago in quest of a career, just as in later times young men of the same class have gone to India and the Far East or to the British colonies and possessions in other parts of the world.[1]

[1] The prosperity of the West Indies in their palmy days is reflected in the names of Farquharson of Breda, Tower of Kinaldie, Leith-Lumsden of Auchindoir and Clova, Gordon of Newton, Gordon of Cluny, Barclay of Cairness, Gordon of Premnay and Knockespock, Morgan of Bonnymuir, Grant of Whitemyres, Allardyce of Dunnottar, Shand of The Burn, Fraser of Williamston, Leslie of Powis, Lamond of Pitmurchie, Grant of Aberlour, Steuart of Auchlunkart, Ogilvie of Langley Park; and other such well-known names of merchants and planters or medical men and clergymen of the West Indies as Ferguson, Tait, Best, Jopp, Harvey, Shirrefs, Davidson, Stephen, Watson, Glennie, Farquhar, Nicol, Birnie, Taylor, Baird, More, Cushny, Duncan, Anderson, Manson, Craigen, Morrice, Warrack, Gray, Adam (first Bishop of Barbadoes), Hutcheon, Murchison (Dr Alexander), Cadenhead, Angus, Boxill and Ramsay (University benefactors), Chalmers, and Blackwell.

Aberdeenshire early became too narrow a sphere for the activities of its people, and patrician cadets, weary of the dull life of "kindly tenants" on their brothers' estates, sought employment in the armies of France, Sweden, the Empire, and Muscovy. From the early part of the fifteenth century, when the Earl of Buchan and Scottish valour won the battle of Beaugé, a Scottish force was permanently enrolled in France; and when the second Marquis of Huntly was in command of this force, before his accession to the Marquisate, he had five Gordon cadets and two Forbeses among his officers. In the prospect of permanent tranquillity at home after the union of the crowns, north-eastern soldiers of fortune flocked across the North Sea to seek employment under the Governments engaged in the Thirty Years' War. Prominent in the armies of Gustavus Adolphus were Alexander and David Leslie, who afterwards commanded in our own civil wars and founded peerages, and amongst the officers of his Scottish regiments were Sir James King (Lord Eythin), Colonel David Barclay of Ury, and numerous young men of the various landed families of Aberdeenshire. Alexander Leslie, who, according to Spalding, "conquest fra nocht honour and wealth in great abundance,"[1] rose to the rank of field-marshal in the Swedish service, in which he was engaged for thirty years, returning home with great prestige in the early days of the Covenant. In the military counsels of the Covenanters "such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier" that the proud nobility of Scotland "gave over themselves to be guided by him as if he had been Great Solyman."[2] Under Tilly and Wallenstein fought Colonel John Gordon, of a younger branch of the Gight family, and Walter Leslie, son of the tenth Baron of Bal-

[1] Memorials, vol. i. p. 130.

[2] Baillie's Letters, Bannatyne Club, vol. i. p. 213.

quhain, who were prisoners together in the hands of Gustavus and afterwards contrivers together of Wallenstein's death. Both received the emperor's immediate reward, and were placed on the highroad of promotion, Gordon attaining to a marquisate of the empire and the office of high chamberlain, while Leslie was created a count, received the lordship of Neustadt, and was appointed a field-marshal, governor of Sclavonia, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and ambassador at Constantinople, to which city he proceeded with a retinue of unprecedented splendour and magnitude. The second Count Leslie of the Holy Roman Empire defeated the Turks in twenty pitched battles, recovering the greater part of Hungary from their domination. Contemporary with Count Walter was his distant kinsman, Sir Alexander Leslie of Auchintoul, a general in the Muscovite service and governor of Smolensko, in whose time there were in the same service many officers of the name of Leslie.[1] A typical Dalgetty of the period was Sir John Urrie, or Hurry, of Pitfichie, in Monymusk, who on his return from the Continent fought in the wars of the Covenant, and was always an effective warrior on the side that engaged his services.

But there is no more famous name in the long list of soldiers of fortune than that of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, who fought on the Swedish and Polish side according as he was taken prisoner by the one or the other, agreed to enter the Austrian service but did not, and ultimately transferred his sword and energies to Russia, where the highest promotion awaited him, and Peter the Great watched and wept by his deathbed. Probably no son of Aberdeenshire was ever buried with such pomp as attended the interment of Patrick Gordon before the high altar of his chapel in Moscow. His diary preserves the names of many of his

[1] Leslie Historical Records, vol. iii. pp. 242-251 and 410.

compatriots and kinsmen who did their part in the battles of Eastern Europe, including his son-in-law and biographer, Alexander Gordon of Auchintoul, who was Lieutenant-General of the Jacobite army of 1715. Among other Aberdeenshire men in the Russian service were William Guild, Andrew Burnett, George Keith, Thomas Menzies of Balgownie, and Paul, son of Sir Gilbert Menzies of Pitfodels, who had been a student for the priesthood at Douai, served in the Polish and Muscovite armies, and was envoy of Russia to the Republic of Venice. James Keith, the brother of the last Earl Marischal, served in Russia for nineteen years before he entered the service of Frederick the Great, under whom he attained to the highest military rank, contributed to the early victories of the Seven Years' War, conducted the retreat from Olmütz, and fell in the battle of Hochkirch while for the third time charging the enemy. Among the last Aberdonians leading in foreign armies, and he was an Aberdonian only by descent, was Prince Barclay de Tolly,[1] who organised the tactics by which Napoleon's Moscow expedition was overwhelmed in disaster. Another was General John Forbes of Skellater, field-marshal in Portugal, who married a princess of the blood royal and emigrated with the Court to Brazil.

Such are a few of the Aberdonians of martial renown who threw their energies into the service of foreign states, before their own empire afforded sufficient scope for the talents and ambitions of its people. These counties have never been without their roll of worthy soldiers in every rank. In the Peninsular War distinguished and prominent service was rendered by the sixteenth Lord Saltoun and the fourth Earl of Fife; and in its Forbeses, Gordons, Leiths, and Leith-Hays, amongst others, Aberdeenshire has furnished the army of the

[1] *I.e.*, Barclay of Towie: *supra*, p. 188.

empire with soldiers who in responsible commands have upheld and added to its renown. To the rank and file the north-east has also yielded its quota of brave and vigorous men. When the Black Watch, afterwards one of the most renowned regiments of the line, was called into existence in 1730 by Duncan Forbes, then Lord Advocate, and afterwards the great Lord President, it consisted of six companies of local militia for checking Highland raids. A few years later these companies were consolidated into a regiment of 1000 men, many of whom had been enrolled at Braemar. The regiment, after part of it had tried to take the law into its own hands and escape foreign service, had its first serious engagement in the battle of Fontenoy, where its chaplain, Adam Ferguson, son of a former minister of Crathie, grandson of a Gordon laird of Hallhead, and endowed with the martial energy of his race, graduated in arms in the thick of the fight ere he passed on to his chair in Edinburgh and his part among the literary giants of that city. The rising of 1745 was followed in a few years by the response to Lord Chatham's call for recruiting in the Highlands, when Keith's regiment was raised in Braemar and Athole, and the first Gordon regiment was formed chiefly from the duke's estates in Banffshire and Aberdeenshire. Social and economic changes that followed in the wake of the abolition of the clan system led, after a time, to an almost entire stoppage of Highland recruiting; but in 1794 the popularity and influence of the heir to the dukedom of Gordon sufficed to raise in the north-eastern counties in a few weeks the famous regiment of Gordon Highlanders, which established in Sir Ralph Abercromby's expedition to Egypt a military prestige which was to be confirmed and enhanced by its career in the Peninsula, at Waterloo (its twenty-sixth battle), in the Indian Mutiny, in Afghanistan, in South Africa and Egypt, and at Dargai.

In the work of empire-making in India and elsewhere Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, through their sons, have borne perhaps a still more notable part than in the sphere of general military service. There are several instances of remarkable success in enlisting the goodwill and zealous co-operation of men of alien blood and sympathies, and in converting resentful foes into faithful friends and upholders of the new and better rule. A singular mastery over men in this sense is shown in the career of Sir Harry Burnett Lumsden, who, out of the most daring freebooters of the north-west frontier, formed the famous Corps of Guides; of Sir James Outram,[1] "the Bayard of India," who, in the memorable words of Colonel Yule on the base of his statue at Calcutta, in early manhood "reclaimed wild races by winning their hearts"—fit prelude to his great and knightly career as soldier and ruler; of Sir William M'Gregor, the first administrator of British New Guinea, to whose extraordinary success in introducing the beginnings of law and civilisation among a barbarous and unruly people the strongest testimony has been borne[2] by the Queensland authorities and the Imperial Government; and of General Charles George Gordon, the hero, of Aberdeenshire descent, who, perhaps more than any other in recent times, has touched the public imagination—who rose to military renown as leader of the Ever-Victorious army of China, and was pioneer of humane rule in the Sudan, while never were great qualities more memorably displayed than when he went back to lay down his life at Khartum in single-handed conflict with insurgent fanaticism, his last great achievement being to organise the escape of thousands of

[1] Outram was a grandson of Dr James Anderson-Seton, the agricultural writer and economist, another of whose grandsons was the gallant Colonel Seton who on the deck of the troopship Birkenhead nobly went to death with his men of the 78th regiment.

[2] Colonial Reports—British New Guinea (1899, No. 258).

helpless refugees. General Gordon had no compeer, and may have no successor, but the work of Outram and Sir Harry and Sir Peter Lumsden has been upheld by many an able and true-hearted officer from these counties; and in Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart the military heroism of Banffshire has at present its most illustrious representative.

Comparatively few naval officers have emanated from this province. In the early days Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar, fought by sea as well as by land, and Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, the famous Scottish admiral, had his hereditary as well as acquired connections with Aberdeen. Of later Aberdeenshire admirals there have been three members of the Gordon family, one Duff, Sir Arthur Farquhar (father and son), and Sir George Nares, the naval head of the Challenger voyage of scientific research, and commander of the last great Polar expedition. The elder Farquhar, by his gallant defence of the Acheron against overwhelming odds, did much to justify the remark attributed to Nelson concerning him, that he would not hesitate to board a frigate though he commanded but a cock-boat.[1] The gallant Viscount Keith, remotely connected with these parts, carried into many a sea-fight of the American and French wars his inheritance of the martial spirit so strongly manifested in his grand-uncle who fell at Hochkirch.[2]

In men of distinction in statesmanship and the higher walks of the public service the great governing families of the north-east have been fairly prolific. From a single branch of the Gordons, the Earls of Aberdeen — and taking into account only the members in the direct succession and their

[1] Farquhar's brother, Major-General William Farquhar of the Madras Engineers, was for many years resident and commandant of Malacca, and was employed in organising Singapore as a British settlement.

[2] Memoir, by Alexander Allardyce (1882).

sons—have sprung in the course of seven generations a Lord President of the Court of Session and Lord Chancellor of Scotland, another Scottish judge, two admirals, two generals, and two other military officers holding important positions (one of them aide-de-camp to the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo), a Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Prime Minister, an ambassador of the first rank, a Colonial Governor of exceptionally wide experience, and a Viceroy of Ireland and Canada. Hereditary talents of a high order have been frequently manifested in the other territorial families, while many men from humbler ranks have shone in the spheres of arms and government. The profession of law attracted the same practical genius, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when a large number of the Scottish judges were Aberdeenshire men or alumni of the University. Of "jurists" there were William Barclay of Pont-à-Mousson and Angers (father of the author of "Argenis"), Sir Thomas Craig, Sir John Skene, and Irvine of Lynturk; and of judges Chancellor Seton, David Chalmers (Lord Ormond), Robert Burnet (Lord Crimond), the first Earl of Aberdeen, Richard Maitland (Lord Pittrichie), George Nicolson (Lord Kemnay), James Scougall (Lord Whithill), David Dalrymple (Lord Westhall), Sir Alexander Seton (Lord Pitmedden), Sir Francis Grant (Lord Cullen), William Grant (Lord Prestongrange), Alexander Fraser (Lord Strichen), James Ferguson (Lord Pitfour), and James Burnett (Lord Monboddo). Of ecclesiastical rulers and men of note, besides Bishop Patrick Forbes and the Doctors, there have been several distinguished prelates of the Forbes and Leslie connections; and in their several ways Archbishop Sharp, Bishop Gilbert Burnet, and the Presbyterian Andrew Cant all played a great part in the affairs of their time. Bishop Elphinstone was an immigrant from the south, but

Bishop Dunbar, in common with Cheyne, Lichtoun, and others of his predecessors, was a son of the soil, and the attachment of the north-east to Episcopacy, formerly represented by the Forbeses and Skinners, has been exemplified in these latter days by Archbishop Tait, who came of Buchan ancestry; by Bishop Ewing of Argyle, the son of an Aberdeen lawyer who founded one of the local banks and one of the insurance offices; by the genial Dean Ramsay, who has so delightfully illustrated north-eastern life and character; and by a succession of Colonial bishops, as Bishop Strachan of Toronto, Bishop Maclean of Saskatchewan, and the present Primates of Canada and New Zealand, Archbishop Machray and Bishop Cowie. The scholarly and saintly Henry Scougal, son of the Restoration bishop, inspired the Wesleys and Whitefield by his writings, and so connects Aberdeen with the great Methodist movement of England and America.[1] In the Presbyterian Church the north-east has had no such pre-eminence, but the powerful personalities of Craig and Cant, Campbell and Reid, count for much; Professors Fordyce, Gerard, and Mearns were men of fame and influence in their day; Dr James Fordyce had few compeers as a popular preacher; Dr James Robertson, of Ellon and Edinburgh, and Principal Pirie, were well known as church leaders; and among distinguished men in the Free Church there have been Principal David Brown, Dr Walter C. Smith, Dr Garden Blaikie, Principal Salmond, and Professor A. B. Davidson.

Of all the learned professions, however, it is in that of medicine that Aberdeen men have most excelled. The long roll of eminent physicians and surgeons born or educated

[1] *Supra*, p. 267. Cf. Wesley and Whitefield in Scotland, by Rev. D. Butler (1898), and Henry Scougal and the Oxford Methodists, by the same author (1899). John Wesley published several editions of Scougal's works.

here includes a considerable number of court physicians, many men of administrative eminence in the army and the Indian service, and many renowned teachers and practitioners. Chronologically the list is headed by Donald Bannerman, physician to King David II., whose services to the king and the Church were recompensed by gifts of lands in the vicinity of Aberdeen.[1] Walter Prendergist, "medicus," was admitted to honorary burgess-ship in 1444, and William Urquhart, chirurgeon, was similarly honoured about a century later "for his gratuitous service to the town."[2] Principal Boece, as we have seen, possessed among his other accomplishments a knowledge of the healing art; and his colleague, James Cumyne, the first "mediciner" of King's College, occupied the medical chair created by Bishop Elphinstone, which survives in changed form as the oldest British foundation for instruction in medicine.[3] To Cumyne succeeded Robert Gray, "salubris medicinæ bachalarius," whose successor was Gilbert Skene, author of a tract on "The Pest,"[4] who afterwards settled in Edinburgh, and was "own physician" to James VI. William Barclay, the student of Lipsius at Louvain and Professor of Humanity in Paris, was a medical practitioner in Aberdeen and Nantes, and author of 'Nepenthes' (a panegyric on the virtues of tobacco), 'Callirhoe,' commonly called the "Well of Spa" (in Aberdeen), Latin poems, and other works. From the list may also be cited the names of Duncan Liddel, physician to the Duke of

[1] Reg. Mag. Sig., pp. 59, 60; Reg. Episcop. Aberd., I. 116.

[2] Miscellany of New Spalding Club, vol. i. p. xxxiv.

[3] Officers, &c., of King's College, ed. by P. J. Anderson, New Spalding Club, p. 35.

[4] Reprinted by the Bannatyne Club, with another tract on the "Well of the Woman Hill beside Aberdeen," attributed by the editor (Dr W. F. Skene) to the same author, but on doubtful evidence. Cf. another reprint, with Introduction by A. K[emlo], Aberdeen, 1884.

Brunswick, prime luminary of the University of Helmstadt, and early benefactor of Marischal College; Gilbert Jack, who practised medicine and taught philosophy at Leyden and elsewhere; Walter Donaldson, the Aberdeen physician-professor of Sedan; Arthur Johnston, who, after his academic career abroad, cultivated the muses in Aberdeen, and acted as physician at the English Court of Charles I., which also had the professional services of the Latin Secretary's brother, Alexander Reid, the pioneer of scientific medical education among the "barber-surgeons" of London; Robert Morison, the great botanist of his day, who returned from official service under the king of France to become botanical professor at Oxford, and physician to the second Charles, in which last office he had two other Aberdeen physicians as his colleagues —namely, Alexander Fraser and Thomas Burnet, the latter of whom survived and practised through the following reigns down to and including that of Queen Anne. The succession is continued by John Arbuthnot, the wit and physician of Anne's Court; Sir Patrick Dun, the founder and first president of the Dublin College of Physicians; Charles Maitland, who introduced inoculation into England; George Cheyne of London and Bath, the "apostle of abstinence," and popular medical writer, reputed the foremost physician of his day; the medical Gregorys, including the Aberdeen professors, and Drs John and James of Edinburgh; Sir William and Dr George Fordyce of London, the one a fashionable practitioner, and the other famous also as a scientific teacher; Sir Walter Farquhar, son of a minister of Peterhead and Chapel of Garioch, who attended George III., and was consulting physician to the Prince Regent; Dr John Abercrombie, another "son of the manse," who went to Edinburgh and became head of the profession and first physician to the king; Sir James Clark, physician-in-ordinary

to the royal household in the early years of Queen Victoria; the equally famous Sir Andrew Clark, foremost among London physicians in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and President of the Royal College of Physicians; the brothers George Skene Keith and Thomas Keith of Edinburgh, the latter identified with a beneficent advance in surgery; and James Matthews Duncan, the contemporary of the Keiths at school and college in Aberdeen and in practice in Edinburgh —"a man of genuine capacity and worth," as was said by Dr John Brown, "strong-brained, right-minded, true-hearted."[1] Of medical men of eminence in Aberdeen there were successive Skenes, Livingstones, Williamsons, and Dyces, with two surgeons of note, William Keith and Professor Pirrie, and a physician long the acknowledged head of the profession in the north, Dr Alexander Kilgour. Dr Neil Arnott, a contemporary of Byron at the Grammar-School, received the first part of his medical education in Aberdeen, where he was also a student of natural philosophy under Professor Patrick Copland, an eminent and inspiring teacher. While pursuing the career of a successful London physician, Dr Arnott, who was one of the founders of the University of London, continued to cultivate natural philosophy with the enthusiasm of genius, and became, in his famous treatise on "Physics," one of its most luminous and popular expositors. Among the officers of marked distinction which the Aberdeen medical school has furnished to the public service was Sir James M'Grigor, to whose memory the large obelisk in the quadrangle of Marischal College is erected, and who, before leaving the city, was the founder of its still flourishing Medico-Chirurgical Society. One of the first manifestations of the energy with which he organised victory over disease and mortality in the army was seen at the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom, where he

[1] Cf. Aberdeen Doctors, by Mrs E. H. B. Rodger, p. 336.

converted the church into his first hospital for the sick and wounded, and by careful nursing effected a vast improvement in the lot of the disabled soldier and the prospects of his recovery. From the Low Countries he passed to India, and there, as afterwards on the home establishment, he displayed the qualities of mind and character that designated him for the great office of chief of the medical staff of the allied armies under Wellington in the Peninsula, where, with the co-operation of a staff on which were several zealous and effective officers from the north-east of Scotland, the great work of his life was performed. Sir James M'Grigor may indeed be regarded as the representative and chief of a numerous body of departmental officers in the military, naval, and Indian services whose early days were spent in the district between the Dee and the Spey, and whose preparatory training, at least its earlier stages, was carried through in Aberdeen.

The union of scientific with professional eminence seen in Dr Neil Arnott is also illustrated by Dr David Ferrier, whose brilliant academic career was followed by his remarkable series of experimental researches into the localisation of cerebral functions; by Dr Andrew Leith Adams (son of the scholarly Dr Francis Adams of Banchory [1]), who to distinction as an army surgeon added the pursuits of an observant naturalist, and after his retirement was professor of natural history in one of the Irish colleges; and by Sir George King, who, while a member of the army medical service, carried out in India his great work in the sphere of economic botany. In the natural sciences have been enlisted Dr Alexander Garden, of Charleston, the correspondent of Linnæus; Dr Robert Brown, the botanist; and an inspiring teacher of Marischal College, Professor William Macgillivray, the ornithologist.

[1] *Infra*, p. 382.

Among travellers in recent times Aberdeen or its University has sent out the brothers Gerard to Central Asia and the Himalayas, Colonel James Augustus Grant to Africa, and Mr Henry Ogg Forbes the naturalist-explorer of New Guinea and the Eastern Archipelago. In the cultivation of the mathematical and physical sciences, passing over men temporarily holding office in either University, such as Colin Maclaurin and Clerk Maxwell, these counties and their seat of learning are represented by Dr Thomas Bower, Dr Robert Hamilton, and Professor Chrystal; by a stream of men who have taken high places in the Cambridge mathematical tripos, including four senior wranglers in the ten years 1858-1867; by James Ferguson, the self-taught astronomer, and Dr David Gill, head of the Royal Observatory at the Cape of Good Hope. The practicality predominant in the genius of Aberdeenshire has resulted in the inventions of the breech-loading rifle by Patrick Ferguson, and the percussion cap by Dr Alexander John Forsyth, minister of Belhelvie; in the numerous and ingenious contrivances by which Sir John Anderson of Woolwich improved the instruments of warfare and accelerated their production in the Government factories; and in the inventions of Dr Neil Arnott, including those by which he applied the true principles of heating and ventilation and his hydrostatic bed.

No part of the country has produced more remarkable examples of intellectual gifts of a high order running in the same families from generation to generation. During the first quarter of the seventeenth century there were living in Aberdeen two men destined to be the common ancestors of a famous group than whom no more brilliant illustration of hereditary genius is known. One was James Gregory, a saddler who had been admitted a burgess in 1595, but of whom little more is known except that his son, John Gregory,

parson of Drumoak, who was persecuted by the Covenanters, was served heir to him in 1623. The other was David Anderson, described by the parson of Rothiemay as "the most skilful mechanic that lived in Scotland in his time,"[1] known among his fellow-citizens as "Davie Do-a'-Things," from his skill in engineering and constructive work, and applauded by Baillie Alexander Skene as the "ingenious and virtuous citizen," who by means of floats and the force of the rising tide raised and transported out of the way a great stone that blocked the entrance to the harbour.[2] David Anderson was a near relative of Alexander Anderson the Paris mathematician, and uncle of Jamesone the painter; and his wife was a sister of Dr William Guild, the Principal of King's College. Janet Anderson, daughter of "Davie Do-a'-Things," and niece of Guild, became the wife of the parson of Drumoak, and mother of David Gregory, who prospered as a merchant, acquired the estate of Kinnairdy, in Lower Banffshire, and cultivated science; and of James Gregory, the inventor of the reflecting telescope and Professor of Mathematics in St Andrews and Edinburgh. David Gregory had three sons who became respectively Savilian Professor of Astronomy in Oxford and Professors of Mathematics in Edinburgh and St Andrews, and two daughters from whom descended two Aberdeen professors, one of them Dr Thomas Reid. A son of the Savilian professor occupied the chair of modern history in Oxford; the St Andrews professor was succeeded by his son; and the descendants of the inventor of the reflecting telescope for four generations were professors of medicine and chemistry in the Universities of Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Altogether, at least fourteen descendants of Parson Gregory have been professors in British Universities.

[1] Description of Both Touns, p. 8.
[2] Succinct Survey, p. 17; cf. Book of Bon-Accord, pp. 279, 280.

The Reids are worthy of being named along with the Gregorys, and similar, if not quite so conspicuous, ability descended amongst the Johnstons. The Fordyces were another family of various talent, and besides Professor David Fordyce, who in his day gave fame to Marischal College, it produced two leading physicians, an eloquent preacher, and a city banker—three brothers and a nephew—all occupying prominent positions in London at the same time. The Burnetts and Fergusons have yielded several men of note in the walks of learning, law, and affairs; and of no ordinary eminence in many directions have been the Forbeses, who, while inferior to the Gordons in political influence, have excelled them in learning and range of aptitude, and have given several bishops to the church, more than one distinguished judge to the bench, several sagacious and successful men to commerce and finance, some notable men of science and scholarship to the academic world, and a goodly number to the work of administration and arms.

The brilliant epochs of Bishop Elphinstone, the founding of Marischal College, and the Aberdeen Doctors have been discussed in preceding chapters. After the dreary period of literary barrenness inaugurated by "The Troubles" came a marked revival of learning and culture in the eighteenth century. One of its leaders was Thomas Blackwell, the younger, a professor and afterwards Principal of Marischal College, who restored the effective study of Greek literature, infused new life into the University, and was mainly instrumental in procuring the final overthrow of the system of "regents," and the restoration of professors who each confined himself to one branch of knowledge.[1] The reputation of the University at this time was enhanced by his relative and colleague, David Fordyce, to whose eloquence as a preacher and lecturer the

[1] Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i. p. 293.

strongest testimony is borne by his contemporary, Dr Thomas Reid.[1] Reid himself, a man worthy of his brilliant kith and kin on both sides, was a graduate and librarian of Marischal College, minister of Newmachar, and professor for thirteen years (1751-1764) in King's College.

The Aberdeenshire clergy, in the days when Reid adorned their ranks, had a reputation for learning and manners superior to that of their brethren in other parts of the country.[2] They were generally "Moderates," and acquired the respect and confidence of the classes which had formerly sympathised with Episcopacy. For many years the ecclesiastical leader in the north-east was Dr George Campbell, Principal of Marischal College. Besides being an eminent ecclesiastic, Campbell had a high reputation in the world of letters. His dissertation on Miracles, in answer to Hume, had much celebrity, and was translated into several European languages: more enduring, however, has been the vogue of his 'Philosophy of Rhetoric,' which is to a large extent a treatise on psychology, and is pointed to by so eminent an authority as Archbishop Whately as the most important modern work on its subject, its merit lying "not only in depth of thought and ingenious original research, but also in practical utility to the student."[3] Of considerable fame likewise was Dr Alexander Gerard, Professor of Divinity and author of several philosophical essays and dissertations. The ultimate reputation of their illustrious colleague, Thomas Reid, was, however, destined to be very much greater than that of either of these able men. Another of the group was James Beattie, whose contemporary fame exceeded that of his compeers.

In his student days Campbell founded a Theological Club,

[1] Ramsay, Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century, vol. i. p. 295.
[2] Ibid., p. 301; cf. Wesley's Journal.
[3] Elements of Rhetoric, p. 6.

which included John Skinner, the poet, and William Trail, afterwards Bishop of Down and Connor. A more important and widely celebrated body, which had no small influence on Scottish thought, was the Philosophical Society of Aberdeen, or "Wise Club," formed in 1758 by Reid and Dr John Gregory—among its members being Campbell, Gerard, Beattie, the medical Skenes, and the mathematical professor John Stewart. The Society met fortnightly in a tavern, and from the minutes, which are still extant, it may be gathered that much of the published writings of its more prominent members was first submitted to its criticism.[1]

As a seat of learning Aberdeen, in the latter half of the eighteenth century, began to attract students from England. One was Charles Burney, the Greek scholar, brother of Madame D'Arblay and son of the historian of music and friend of Johnson. Burney took his degree as Master of Arts at King's College in 1781, at which date there was among the undergraduates an Englishman of very different style in the person of George Colman "the younger," sent north by his father to be away from the scenes of dissipation in London and at Christ Church, Oxford, and committed to the care of Professor Roderick Macleod, afterwards Principal. The contrast between the Aberdeen "parks" and those of Colman's imagination was not greater than that which he found between the professor, with his unpretentious Scottish speech, and the heavy dons of Oxford; the humble lodgings of the students presented another contrast to his mind, and instead of the severe discipline of his expectation he found almost unlimited freedom; but he left Aberdeen with regret, after having voluntarily acquired at King's College, as he confessed, a great deal more classical knowledge in two years

[1] Mind, April 1877, p. 214; cf. Forbes's Life of Beattie (1807), vol. i. pp. 40-45.

than he had been taught in more than five times as long at Marylebone, Westminster, and Oxford.[1] Two other students at this period, both of whom bear unqualified testimony to the stimulating and invigorating character of their studies and intercourse in Aberdeen, were Sir James Mackintosh and Robert Hall. Mackintosh graduated at King's College in 1784, and Hall in the following year. The two were assiduous students of Greek and philosophy and joint luminaries of a college literary society; and it is on record that their friendly disputations were carried on with great animation not only in their rooms but in frequent walks on the Links and sea-beach and along the banks of the Don. From these undergraduate discussions and studies Sir James Mackintosh, by his own testimony, learnt more "as to principles" than from all the books he ever read.[2]

A passing event in the literary life of Aberdeen was the visit of Dr Johnson, to whom the freedom of the city was presented "with a good grace" by Provost Jopp. Johnson made a genial reply; and he testifies in his account of the journey to the Hebrides that "the honour conferred had all the decorations politeness could add, and, what I am afraid I should not have had to say of any city south of the Tweed, I found no petty officer bowing for a fee!" Just before he left London he had written to Boswell, who was to be his companion in the journey, that Beattie was there, but was "so caressed and invited, and treated, and liked, and flattered by the great," that there was reason to hope he would be "well provided for," in which event they would "live upon him at Marischal College without pity or modesty." Beattie, however, had not returned, and when the travellers arrived the New Inn was full and unwilling to receive them until the

[1] Colman, Random Records of my Life.

[2] Memoir of Hall, by Professor Olinthus Gregory, p. 19.

disclosure of Boswell's hereditary influence mellowed the host. Boswell had some acquaintances among the learned society of Aberdeen; and Sir Alexander Gordon of Lesmoir, the Professor of Medicine in King's College, whom Johnson had met in London, introduced him to the academic and other notabilities of the city. The "Ossian" controversy, in which Johnson bore so vigorous a part, was at its height, and at a dinner-party at Sir Alexander Gordon's he proposed that Macpherson, who had been a student in Aberdeen not many years before, should deposit in one of the colleges the manuscript of the poems which he said he translated, and if the professors certified its authenticity there would be an end of the matter, while a refusal to take this obvious and easy course would confirm the doubt for which there was so much *a priori* ground. Utterances of this sort in the course of the tour reached Macpherson, who wrote the letter to Johnson which elicited the famous reply, that he was not to be deterred from detecting a cheat by the menaces of a ruffian. But the talk was mainly on Johnson's side, and he found the conversational powers of the Aberdonians greatly inferior to those of Lord Monboddo, by whom he had been entertained in passing through Kincardineshire. From Aberdeen the travellers passed to Slains Castle, Banff, and westward. The situation of Slains was declared by Johnson to be "the noblest" he had ever seen, better even than Mount-Edgecumbe, and "if he had any malice against a walking spirit he would condemn him to reside in the Buller of Buchan."

Young Colman also received the freedom of the city, the honour having previously been bestowed on two other English students; and his just reflection on the circumstance is that bestowing upon "three such raw subjects" the same honour as had been conferred upon Dr Johnson could only be considered as an intended compliment to the English in general.

But honorary burgess-ship was not thrown about indiscriminately. Campbell and Beattie, two of the most eminent citizens, had received it a few years before; it was conferred on Skinner a few years later; and among other honorary burgesses created about this time were Sir John Sinclair, Walter Scott (in 1796, the year of his first appearance in authorship with the Burger translations), Sir John Rennie, the engineer, who had done much to develop the granite trade, and Sir Ralph Abercromby and Sir David Baird of military renown.

In respect of literature no Scottish county has a longer record than Aberdeenshire. Barbour, its first great author, stands alone in early Scottish literature, but as time advances there are no north-eastern names to compare with Henryson and Dunbar, Sir David Lyndsay, and Drummond of Hawthornden. Gavin Douglas had his origin among the southern spurs of the eastern Grampians, and his clerical career began at Monymusk, but his connection with Aberdeenshire was of short duration. Principal Arbuthnot came north and remained; and Arthur Johnston, as scholar, teacher, physician, and poet, an Aberdonian of the Aberdonians, is of permanent repute; but on the whole the record of the north-east is one of comparative barrenness of poetical genius—a barrenness, however, which was shared by the rest of Scotland in the long period of ecclesiastical and civil contention. It can hardly be said to have been relieved by the Hudibrastic verse of Meston, a characteristic product of the early years of the eighteenth century. Among the brilliant wits and satirists of Queen Anne's court, however, another Jacobite alumnus of Marischal College had his place in the person of Dr John Arbuthnot, who achieved the rare distinction of imitating Swift so successfully that the understudy is sometimes not recognisable from the great original. High merit is found at the dawn of the new day of Scottish poetry, in the anony-

mous patriotic poem "Albania," published in London in 1737 as the work of a deceased Scottish clergyman. From internal evidence afforded by the poem itself, the author appears to have been an Aberdonian; and Aaron Hill, who was much in the north in connection with the York Buildings Company's enterprises, speaks of him as "known though unnamed." The poem, which has descriptive power, and is instinct with poetic spirit, strongly commended itself to Sir Walter Scott; and Dr Leyden, who had drawn Scott's attention to it, made diligent inquiry concerning it in Aberdeen, but as two-thirds of a century had elapsed he could learn nothing, and the author remains unidentified.

Alexander Ross, long schoolmaster of the secluded parish of Lochlee, in the heart of the eastern Grampians, who was born in Deeside and educated at Marischal College, wrote "Helenore; or the Fortunate Shepherdess," which ranks with Allan Ramsay's work of similar name as one of the two best pastoral poems produced in Scotland. Besides painting nature with deftness and rehearsing the little drama of the hills in the days of the cateran raids, it is of incidental interest as preserving the local dialect of the times. Burns wrote to Skinner of Ross as a "wild warlock" and "our true brother"; but he is far from being their equal, though his songs retain their place in Scottish collections. Robert Fergusson, the precursor of Burns, was the child of Aberdeenshire parents, but was born and nurtured elsewhere; and Burns himself was of a well-rooted north-eastern stock, his father and all his paternal ancestry for centuries having been born in Kincardineshire, within a few miles of the Dee. Beattie, a son of the Mearns, who was associated with Aberdeen through all his active life, may not rank very high as a poet, but the "Minstrel," with its pleasingly descriptive strain and its touch of poetic emotion, survives in literature when his prose

writings, which had so much celebrity in their day, have for the most part passed into oblivion. Racier of the north-eastern soil is John Skinner, a poet of truest note, whose extant writings in verse are all comprehended in a small volume of less than a hundred pages.

Burns visited the two shires during his Highland tour of 1787. Reversing the course of Johnson, he crossed the Spey eastward at Fochabers, and was hospitably received by the accomplished Duchess of Gordon, who had seen him in Edinburgh, and had "never met with a man whose conversation so completely carried her off her feet."[1] The Duke made Burns happier "than ever great man did," during the brief dinner-hour they were together; the Duchess was "charming, witty, kind, and sensible," and they pressed him to remain at the castle for a time. How the poet was dragged away by his travelling-companion is well known. Gordon Castle lingered in his memory, and he sent back a poem or two in its praise, but a more notable fruit of this part of the tour is his stirring "Macpherson's Farewell." On calling in Aberdeen at the printing-office of Mr James Chalmers, Burns met Bishop Skinner, the son of the poet. "On Mr Chalmers mentioning that I was the son of 'Tullochgorum,'" the bishop wrote to his father, "there was no help but I must step into the inn hard by and drink a glass with him and the printer"; and poet, prelate, and printer sit together for an hour "most agreeably," discussing Scottish song. The bishop's account of the interview elicited from Skinner an epistle in verse which Burns considered "by far the finest poetic compliment he ever got"; and a correspondence followed in which Burns reiterated his regret that when in the north he had missed paying a younger brother's dutiful respect to the author of the best Scotch song.

[1] Lockhart's Life of Burns, chap. v.

Dr John Ogilvie, minister of Midmar, an able and learned man, son of the minister of St Nicholas who had extended a welcome to Whitefield and Wesley, wrote voluminous epics and allegories, and a treatise on the theology of Plato. Johnson, at the instance of Boswell, agreed to see him in London, but on condition that he should "give us none of his poetry"! In the legion of minor "bards of Bon-Accord," one of more than local fame is William Thom, the hapless weaver-poet of Inverurie and author of touching lyric verse. The brilliant and versatile John Stuart Blackie was an Aberdonian by nurture if not by nature, and Sir Theodore Martin is one by descent. Aberdonian in the fullest sense is Dr Walter Chalmers Smith, the richly reflective, imaginative, and lyrically gifted preacher-poet of our time.

The greatest of poets connected with Aberdeenshire, Lord Byron, used to boast that he was "half a Scot by birth, and bred a whole one"; and he tells again and again how his early impressions of Deeside scenery remained with him through all his experiences and wanderings. Of Lochnagar and Morven he sang in memorable verse, though topographically inexact, extolling them in comparison with Alps and Apennines, and he tells how he thought of them as he gazed on the Phrygian Ida and reflected on Troy. Nor were these the only Aberdeenshire memories that lived with him.

> "My heart flies to my head
> As 'Auld Lang Syne' brings Scotland, one and all,—
> Scotch plaids, Scotch snoods, the blue hills, and clear streams,
> The Dee, the Don, Balgownie's brig's black wall,
> All my boy feelings, all my gentler dreams
> Of what I then dreamt, clothed in their own pall
> Like Banquo's offspring."

If in launching the shafts of his satire against certain reviewers he "railed at Scots," the cherished feelings of his youthful days, and what he called "the Scotchman in his

blood," inevitably reasserted themselves. His scapegrace and spendthrift English father had married Miss Catherine Gordon, the proud and emotional heiress of Gight, and quickly dissipated her fortune, so that in two years the estate was sold and only £150 a-year remained for her. The only child of this unfortunate marriage, the future poet, was brought in early infancy to Scotland, and his mother settled in a comparatively humble way in Aberdeen. Here Byron had as teachers John Bower, who taught him to repeat certain monosyllables by rote; Ross, the "devout and clever little clergyman," who instructed him in Roman history, and whose teaching was remembered by him long afterwards as he looked down from the heights of Tusculum on Lake Regillus; the nurse who filled his mind with stories and legends, and through whose care he had read much of the Old Testament before he was eight years of age, and had some of the Psalms committed to memory; and his tutor, Joseph Paterson, afterwards for sixty years minister of Montrose, from whom, with a rudimentary knowledge of Latin, he passed to the Grammar-School, where he "threaded all the classes to the fourth," or highest but one. It was when in his ninth year, during convalescence from scarlet fever, and while residing at Ballatrich near Ballater, that the scenery of Deeside produced its great influence on his susceptible mind. Byron was only in his eleventh year when, on succeeding to his uncle's peerage and estates, he left for England; but his Aberdeen education may be said to have been resumed for two years at the boarding-school at Dulwich under the direction of Dr William Glennie, from which he went to Harrow.

In prose imaginative literature one or two Aberdeenshire men have attained to eminence if not to the highest rank. Of Dr George MacDonald's many writings, the most salient

are those which relate to his native district of Strathbogie and to college life in Aberdeen, especially two of the earliest, 'David Elginbrod' and 'Alec Forbes of Howglen.' Matchless as an accurate representation of the life and language of rural Aberdeenshire is the 'Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk' of Dr William Alexander; historical and descriptive matter concerning Buchan is set forth with much literary felicity in 'The Crookit Meg' of Sir John Skelton, whose early connection with Peterhead gives him some title to be ranked among north-eastern authors; and a fourth writer of fiction who has done his part in portraying the life of the north-east is Mr Allardyce, whose 'Balmoral,' a vivid romance of the days of Jacobite struggle, is one of the distinctive books of Aberdeenshire.

But it is not in the sphere of imaginative literature, verse or prose, that the genius of Aberdeenshire has chiefly shown itself, and the great Scottish names in these departments of literary production belong to more southern latitudes. Burns was an Ayrshire bard of Kincardineshire descent, and Byron, in spite of his protestation, is a doubtful asset of Aberdeenshire; Sir Walter Scott was wholly of Lothian, as Lothian was understood when Celtic passed into feudal Scotland; Tobias Smollett obtained his honorary medical degree in Aberdeen, but little of his literary inspiration; and other parts of Scotland have their Thomson, Allan Ramsay, and Thomas Campbell, their "modern Athenians" and Carlyle, their Miss Ferrier, John Galt, and Mrs Oliphant, not to mention recent "schools" of novelists. The intellectual aptitudes of these counties have been mainly in other directions. Criticism, philosophy, and historical literature are among their specialities.

In the field of criticism there are few writers who have rendered a service to English literature at all comparable in extent or value with that of Alexander Dyce in his

scholarly edition of the English dramatists and poets. As a great critic and the most painstaking of editors, he did wonders in rectifying textual corruptions and elucidating obscurities and allusions in the works of the Elizabethan writers. Of several professors of English literature whom Aberdeen has given to British universities and colleges, one of the most eminent is Dr David Masson, in whose monumental work on Milton the offices of biographer, historian, and critic are combined. Professor William Minto, who graduated with academic "honours" in three departments of study, made several notable contributions to the æsthetic criticism of English literature, and was one of the most extensive contributors on literary subjects to the 'Encyclopædia Britannica."

The great distinction of Aberdeen at the time of high intellectual activity in the eighteenth century, when the "Wise Club" was holding its symposia, and one of the most salient facts in its history, is that it became the birthplace of the national system of thought known as the Scottish Philosophy. The reaction against the philosophical scepticism of Hume, in which the Aberdeen philosophers took the lead, gave their chief employment for years to the best-known members of this academic coterie; but it was the genius of Thomas Reid, in pursuance of this counter-movement, that created the Scottish school of philosophy, based on the reality of knowledge, and that gave to the world the epoch-making 'Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common-Sense.' Reid's great work was accomplished, and the 'Inquiry,' containing the whole gist of his philosophy, passed through the press during his professoriate in King's College, though it was after his removal to Glasgow, as successor of Adam Smith in the Chair of Moral Philosophy there, that he rose to the full height of his reputation and influence; and it

was in Glasgow that he had among his students Dugald Stewart, who was to be his philosophical heir, and, as the successor of Adam Ferguson in Edinburgh, to give to the Scottish school its widest celebrity. Of this school, and educated in Aberdeen, though after Reid's time, was Sir James Mackintosh, whose strength, however, was greater in law and polity than in his philosophical dissertations; and Dr John Abercrombie, whose treatises on the intellectual powers and the moral feelings had great contemporary popularity, and passed through many editions.

But Reid and the Scottish School, which he founded and inspired, represent only part of the large contribution made by this part of the country to the history and course of philosophic thought. The genealogical interest of Aberdeenshire in the economics and sociology of Adam Smith and Ferguson, and still more in the critical philosophy of Kant, is at best but one element in the case, and the nurture as well as the family-tree of these philosophers has to be recognised. Much, however, of the work of a second great and characteristic school is unquestionably derived from the north-east of Scotland. Little more than the ridge of the Cairn-a-Mounth separates the birthplace of James Mill, on the North Esk, from that of Thomas Reid, on the Feugh.[1] Mill's great mental endowments were exercised in the spheres of history, economics, and polity, as well as in that of metaphysics, and were in large measure inherited and applied in similar directions by his more famous son, John Stuart Mill; and father and son together were chief exponents of the association school of psychology, which for many years had

[1] Professor Bain has remarked on "the close geographical proximity of Scotch metaphysical talent"—Beattie born at Laurencekirk, Mill at Logie-Pert, and Reid at Strachan, while Campbell was minister of Banchory, all within the range of a long forenoon walk.—(Life of James Mill, p. 25.)

its most eminent representative in Professor Bain, the first professor of logic in his native city of Aberdeen, and author of the treatises containing the most complete analytical exposition of the mind.[1] Another Aberdonian representative of this school was Professor Croom Robertson of London, who organised and edited the quarterly review of psychology and philosophy called 'Mind.' The association psychology of the Mills and Bain, as well as the common-sense philosophy of Thomas Reid, may therefore be said to be an intellectual product of the north-east of Scotland. Mention may also be made of Mr Leslie Stephen, the historian of the utilitarianism of Bentham and the Mills and of English thought in the eighteenth century, who, himself in the front rank of literary essayists, is a member of a family group, of Aberdeen descent, remarkable for its achievements in the spheres of law, history, philosophy, and literature.

History has always had strong attractions for Aberdonians and Aberdeen alumni, and the list of those of them by whom it has been successfully cultivated is surprisingly long. At the head of this list stands the name of John Barbour, the author of the national epic; while of the Scottish chroniclers Wyntoun had Aberdeenshire connections,[2] and John of Fordun was a canon of the Cathedral of St Machar. The fourth name, not only for Aberdeen but for Scotland, is that of Hector Boece, the first Principal of the University, who, in retailing unauthenticated tradition and giving rein to patriotic imagination, shared in the common infirmity of the early historians, but who is an authority for the events of his own time.

[1] The last edition of James Mill's 'Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind' (1869) is peculiarly a north-eastern treatise, Professor Bain and Dr Andrew Findlater being associated with John Stuart Mill in editing it.

[2] *Supra*, p. 80.

To the next generation belongs John Leslie (or Lesley), Bishop of Ross, the champion of Queen Mary and principal Catholic historian of Scotland. Leslie's 'History,' written in Latin, with an incomplete version in the vernacular for Mary's use, while not rejecting the fabulous tales and genealogies, is careful and exact from the point at which it becomes historical, though limited in perspective and stopping short just at the point where it would have been invaluable as an offset to the racy English and brilliant Latin of the partisan histories of Knox and Buchanan. A more famous name in historical literature as in scholarship is that of Thomas Dempster, the most voluminous writer of his time, and author of the erudite and untrustworthy 'Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum';[1] but of far greater service to historic truth were Sir John Skene,[2] and, in their different ways, Robert Gordon of Straloch,[3] the antiquarian writer and cartographer, and his son James Gordon, parson of Rothiemay and historian of the first years of the "Troubles," the fuller record of which, however, is to be found in the vivid pages of John Spalding, the quaint Commissary of Aberdeen.

Bishop Gilbert Burnet, the historian of the Reformation and of 'His Own Time,' was a student of Marischal College at ten and a graduate at fourteen. From Marischal College also proceeded Bishop Robert Keith, the ecclesiastical historian. Few indeed are the writers whose real services to Scottish history are equal to those of Father Thomas Innes, as embodied in his 'Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland' and in his 'Civil and Ecclesiastical History'; and with him Patrick Abercromby, the eulogist of Scottish martial achievements, Adam Anderson, the historian of commerce, and George Chalmers, the author of 'Caledonia,' all proceeded from the country between the Dee and

[1] *Supra*, p. 191. [2] P. 187. [3] P. 196.

the Spey, as also did the philosophical historian, Dr Adam Ferguson. The 'Ecclesiastical History of Scotland' of John Skinner, the poet, is of value as an account of the Jacobite period and the Scottish non-jurors; and Alexander Chalmers, in the next generation, was a diligent historian and biographer. Walter Cullen in the sixteenth century, Provost Jaffray and Baillie Alexander Skene in the seventeenth, and James Man, Walter Thom, and William Kennedy in the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth, with other writers whose names will be found in the bibliography appended to this volume, have contributed in their several degrees to the local annals either as contemporary chroniclers or as collectors of data. Invaluable work in the sphere of history and literary antiquities has been rendered by the group of antiquaries who founded the Spalding Club in 1839, and edited its great collection of the authentic documents of north-eastern history, topography, and genealogy. Dr Joseph Robertson and Dr John Stuart, the two originators of the Club, and Professors Cosmo Innes and George Grub, who were associated with them in its work, combined with their tireless industry and passion for accuracy in details a breadth of historical perspective and an insight into the operation of general causes which raise them to a far higher status than that of dryasdust antiquaries. Of the Aberdeen school likewise are the last three historiographers-royal of Scotland, John Hill Burton, William Forbes Skene, and David Masson, together with Canon Craigie Robertson, the latest considerable exponent of ecclesiastical history, and Dr George Burnett, a diligent and able worker who has contributed much to the elucidation of particular parts of Scottish history. The second or "New" Spalding Club continues the work of its predecessor, and has issued a series of important works in north-eastern history, genealogy, and literature.

To journalism, again — the history of our time from day to day — no part of the country has given so many successful and highly-skilled experts and organisers. Some of them have contributed much to the development of the newspaper press. The Aberdonian James Perry, already the wonder and envy of the journalists of his day for the excellence and amplitude of his reports of public proceedings, introduced a new era by organising Parliamentary reporting by relays of note-takers and publishing in the morning the debates of the preceding night. A still more remarkable man in his way was James Gordon Bennett, a native of Lower Banffshire, who, after entering as a student at the Roman Catholic College at Aquhorthies (afterwards removed to Blairs), emigrated to America, and from small beginnings built up the 'New York Herald,' as proprietor and editor of which he was long at the head of American journalism. A third notability of the newspaper press was John Douglass Cook, the projector and first editor of the 'Saturday Review.' Starting as a contributor to an Aberdeen paper, he acquired, chiefly in London, the experience which enabled him to become one of the most successful of editors, and not only to enlist the co-operation of many of the keenest intellects and most brilliant writers of the time for his weekly review, the scheme of which was his own and largely a novelty in journalism, but to select wisely from among them as occasion required, to elicit their best work, to avoid the numerous pitfalls besetting his path, and to impart to his journal its characteristic and pervasive unity. The strength of Perry, Gordon Bennett, and, on a higher plane, Douglass Cook, lay principally in organisation and in practical judgment as to aims and men. One of the most accomplished writers for the newspaper press was James Macdonell, a member of the 'Times' staff, of whom, at the time of his premature

decease, one of the best judges — the editor of the 'Spectator'—justly remarked that in addition to unusual breadth of culture and special knowledge he "possessed almost in their perfection the faculties of the modern journalist," and on some subjects "a most unusual brilliancy of expression."[1] Another representative man, foremost in his own special department of war correspondent, and trained in the army as well as the university, is Archibald Forbes, who in successive campaigns performed unexampled feats of comprehensive observation, rapid and copious description, and swift transmission, sometimes at the cost of great physical exertion and endurance, as in his famous ride of 110 miles in fifteen hours with the news of the battle of Ulundi. The north-eastern newspapers have been served by several men of note and modest eminence, the chief among them being William M'Combie, founder and first editor of the 'Aberdeen Free Press,' who was also a practical agriculturist, the author of several volumes of profound essays ('Hours of Thought,'[2] 'Unity and Schism,' 'Education,' 'Modern Civilisation,' 'Memoir of Alexander Bethune,' &c.), and a man of much personal influence and weight among the more thoughtful of the community. Others that may be named are Dr William Alexander,[3] James Adam, William Forsyth (author of the 'Martyrdom of Kelavane' — a poem, 'Idylls and Lyrics,' and frequent contributions in prose and verse to leading periodicals), and Dr Alexander Ramsay (editor of the 'Banffshire Journal'). The pioneer of Aberdeen journalism and founder of the first newspaper published north of Edin-

[1] Cf. James Macdonell, a biography, by Dr Robertson Nicoll, p. 396 *et passim.*

[2] Dr Chalmers recommended this work to his class in the University of Edinburgh, characterising it as a production worthy of one of the first essayists of the age.

[3] *Supra*, p. 372.

burgh was James Chalmers, who had gone to Oxford as a student and perfected himself in the art of printing by the side of Benjamin Franklin in London. Returning to Aberdeen, he obtained the appointments of printer to the town and university, and shortly after the suppression of the last Jacobite rebellion, by which, as a prominent loyalist, he suffered at the hands of the rebels, he started the 'Aberdeen Journal,' which for three generations was carried on by his descendants, with the literary and editorial co-operation, at different times, of John Ramsay,[1] a scholarly and talented writer and minor poet, and William Forsyth. Sir Hugh Gilzean Reid, first president of the Institute of Journalists, edited a journal in his native district of Aberdeenshire, and Dr Joseph Robertson and Professors Masson and Minto were engaged for a time in this characteristic occupation of Aberdeenshire men, the two first-named in Aberdeen itself. At least half a dozen of the daily newspapers of London and provincial England are under the control of editors from these counties, few of the great journals are without the assistance of Aberdonians in responsible positions, and special and technical journalism is largely manned from the same unfailing source. Journalism, in short, draws its recruits to an exceptional extent from these counties; and the north-eastern temperament and aptitudes lend themselves readily to its exacting demands. From the University a remarkable number of young graduates pass into this sphere, which seems to have become increasingly attractive in recent years.

Conditions in the north-east have not been favourable to the cultivation of the higher forms of art either literary or

[1] The Selected Writings of John Ramsay, M.A., with Memoir and Notes by Alexander Walker, and Illustrations by George Reid. Aberd., 1871.

pictorial. The only painter of wide celebrity who permanently settled in Aberdeen was Jamesone, and that was during a time when Aberdeen was the chief seat of learning and culture in Scotland. The genius of the counties is on the whole scholarly and practical rather than emotional or artistic, yet they have not been barren of men in whom these latter qualities have received development under the more genial influences prevailing in the south. In art the most prominent examples are William Dyce and John Phillip "of Spain" among painters, and Sir John Steell and William Brodie among sculptors. In Dyce it may be said indeed that Scottish art attained its loftiest elevation, and his paintings and frescoes rank among the finest products of British artistic genius. Sir George Reid, the President of the Royal Scottish Academy, is another migrant to the south. Artists of distinction who have sprung from these counties are comparatively numerous, and in recent years the hope has been raised by the indications first seen in Giles, Cassie, and others, of the foundation of a distinctive school of painting in Aberdeen. Architecture had some significant illustrations, ecclesiastical and baronial, at an early date. After Galloway's day the architect of greatest celebrity is James Gibbs, who, under the patronage of the Earl of Mar, Secretary of State and rebel leader, and with an artistic and professional education improved by foreign study, established himself in London in the latter days of Sir Christopher Wren, from whom, as would appear, he derived some inspiration. Several important works bear testimony to Gibbs's powers, including the Radcliffe Library at Oxford, which has been described as the grandest feature in the grandest of English architectural landscapes, the "additional buildings" at King's College, Cambridge, the London churches of St Martin-in-the-Fields and St Mary-in-the-Strand, and, among many other

ecclesiastical buildings in town and country, the West Church of St Nicholas in his native city. After a period of depraved taste an architectural revival was led in Aberdeen in the first half of the nineteenth century by Archibald Simpson, by whom many public buildings, including those of what is now the older portion of Marischal College, were designed; and in the hands of John and William Smith (the latter being the designer of Balmoral Castle), James Matthews, and others, a great improvement in the general aspect of Aberdeen was effected, which has been continued and enhanced by their successors in recent years.

If the wandering scholars of three hundred years ago were largely a professional class like the soldiers of fortune, the northern seat of learning has reared a goodly band of men of note in the walks of erudition. John Vaus, alumnus of Aberdeen and first humanist in its university, was the earliest Scottish grammarian;[1] Wedderburn of the Grammar-School, and Reid the Latin secretary, were among the foremost Latinists of their time; and the scholarship of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries had three of its brightest representatives in Arthur Johnston, Thomas Ruddiman, and James Melvin—the first a rival of Buchanan in Buchanan's own sphere of Latin poetry; the second being the greatest Scottish editor of classical authors, and author of the text-book from which successive generations derived their systematic knowledge of the Latin tongue; and the third a great teacher, whose scholarship and character gave him an influence that has rarely been equalled.[2] High in the beadroll must also be inscribed the name of Melvin's contemporary, Dr Francis Adams of Banchory, author of 'Arundines

[1] Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland (1876), p. 51; cf. Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, p. 7.

[2] Cf. James Melvin: A Sketch. By David Masson. Aberdeen, 1895.

Devæ,' who, in the obscurity of a country medical practice, rose to fame as "the finest Greek scholar in Scotland,"[1] and as a compeer of Buchanan and Johnston in Latin verse. It may be added that the traditions of Aberdeen scholarship continue to be worthily represented at different seats of learning, and that it is not confined to classical literature. Prominent among Orientalists have been such Aberdonians as Dr Matthew Lumsden, Canon Nicoll of Oxford, and Professor Forbes Falconer of London. The greatest of Anglo-Chinese scholars was Dr James Legge, Professor of Chinese in Oxford, who went from Aberdeen to the missionary college at Malacca (afterwards Hong-Kong) founded by Dr William Milne, himself one of a number of able and zealous men who have gone from the north-east of Scotland as pioneers of Christianity.[2] Eminent likewise in Oriental as in other scholarship was Dr William Robertson Smith, deposed after much controversy from his professorship of Hebrew in the Free Church College of Aberdeen on account of the alleged "dangerous and unsettling tendency" of his articles on Old Testament subjects in the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and afterwards editor of the Encyclopædia, and librarian and Professor of Arabic in the University of Cambridge. Mention must also be made of the great tasks of permanent utility accomplished by two other Aberdonians, Dr John Ogilvie, editor of the 'Imperial Dictionary,' and Alexander Cruden, compiler of the 'Concordance.'

The preceding pages have made apparent the remarkable extent to which the intellectual potentialities of these counties have asserted themselves in concrete form and in practical

[1] Stoddart, Life of Professor Blackie, vol. i. p. 135.

[2] Besides Drs Milne and Legge the list includes another scholarly missionary to China, Dr John Chalmers of Hong-Kong. Of other types have been the Rev. W. C. Burns, also of China, the heroic "Mackay of Uganda," and a long list of medical missionaries.

achievement. Nothing in this history is more striking than the immense influence which their exceptionally efficient system of education has exerted upon the fortunes of the people. Some men, almost entirely self-taught, have risen to distinction in science or literature, and success in business or industry has often been attained without much aid from schools or books. But to an incalculable extent the far-reaching initiative of Bishop Elphinstone and the fifth Earl Marischal has shaped the destinies of this sturdy breed of men. The eighteenth century was indeed in progress before all parts of the province had their full equipment of parish schools, but the two colleges had established an educational ideal and opened wide the portals of the learned professions; and when the scarcity of ministers which prevailed for some generations after the Reformation was at last supplied, many graduates in arts became schoolmasters in the hope of ultimately obtaining a presentation to the incumbency of some vacant parish. In this way the north-eastern parish schools were provided with a body of well-educated teachers from the universities, many of them licentiates in divinity, who played an important part in the educational economy. Elsewhere in Scotland the university graduate and church licentiate, once not uncommon in the schools, had disappeared from them generations before the passing of the Education Act, but in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire this class of teacher still continued to flourish. The too meagre public provision for the remuneration of the parish schoolmaster was latterly reinforced in these counties by the Dick and Milne Bequests —the former conferring an endowment of substantial amount on teachers who passed satisfactorily an examination in the university subjects of Latin, Greek, and mathematics; while the latter had the twofold object of raising the status of the Aberdeenshire schoolmasters and giving free education

to the poor. The Royal Commission which in 1875 inquired into the effects of these endowments found that 85 per cent of the teachers were masters of arts, while elsewhere not one in fifty was a graduate; that there were few schools in which the higher branches of education were not well taught, and that thus the steady flow of youthful ability from the country schools into the university, and from the university into the learned professions, including that of parish schoolmaster, had been greatly promoted.

The ambition for university education was more widely prevalent in the north-east than elsewhere, and the means of giving effect to it existed in the parish schools and the bursary system, which was more fully developed in Aberdeen than at the other seats of learning. In the University of Aberdeen at the present time the bursaries, scholarships, fellowships, and prizes, exclusive of the ordinary class prizes, number about 350, their annual value being nearly £8000. Sons of citizens had their grammar-school, at which country boys whose parents could afford it likewise attended for a time to prepare for the university; but many went direct from the parish school to the bursary competition. It was no unusual thing, in the days before roads were made or public conveyances existed, for the student to walk to Aberdeen at the beginning of the college session and to return home again on foot at its close—a distance, it might be, of fifty or a hundred miles. Thomas Ruddiman, for instance, walked from his native parish of Boyndie, in Lower Banffshire, to the King's College competition of 1690, falling among gipsies, it is said, by the way, and, to the surprise of those who judged by appearances, he obtained the highest place.[1] How little circumstances have changed in regard to the influence of the university and its bursary system

[1] Chalmers, Life of Ruddiman, pp. 6, 12.

was shown at a recent gathering of Aberdeen graduates in London, where a well-known colonial statesman acknowledged that he owed everything to the university, without which he and others of them might have been following the plough, working at a country handicraft, or keeping a village shop.[1] In cases innumerable the university has given a passport to success in life, and it has done so with entire impartiality. Beyond this it has had an important leavening effect on public sentiment. The Scottish Universities Commission of 1826-30 reported specially of the two Aberdeen colleges that "they have silently and unostentatiously raised the intellectual state of Scotland."[2]

Education may accordingly be regarded as the most distinctive of the industries of Aberdeen, and the yearly output of disciplined minds as the most important of its products. The two universities were united from 1640 till after the Restoration, and four different schemes of reunion, with the view of improving the position of the professors and providing for the teaching of new subjects, were projected in the eighteenth century; but it was not till 1859, after much local opposition, that their "fusion" was finally effected. New professorships and lectureships are gradually being added, and a great scheme of building extension is in progress at Marischal College, now the seat of the faculties of science, medicine, and law. There are also in Aberdeen two training colleges for teachers and a Free Church College or Divinity Hall, besides the Roman Catholic College at Blairs, a few miles from the city, at which sixty or seventy students undergo their preliminary training for the priesthood. In the eighteenth century the Scottish seminary for this purpose was at Scalan, an ob-

[1] Sir James Sivewright, Aberdeen Free Press, May 18, 1899.

[2] Scottish Universities Commission, General Report (1831), p. 368.

scure place in the remote district of Glenlivet; then for thirty years it was at Aquhorthies; and in 1829 the college of Blairs was established on a small estate gifted to the Church by the last Menzies of Pitfodels. Secondary or intermediate education is provided for at the Grammar-School and Robert Gordon's College and at several centres in the two counties, Banff and Keith being two that have notably contributed successful competitors to the bursary tournament. Thus, with the School Board system highly developed, including "continuation" and evening schools, a complete provision is made for classical, scientific, and technical instruction, as well as for the elementary branches. And thus it is as true to-day as it was five or six generations ago, that the "natural ingenuity" of the inhabitants is "improved by education," at once accessible and effective, along the whole line from the elementary to the higher academic stages; and the shires of Aberdeen and Banff continue to send far more than their proportionate number of men into the learned professions and the higher grades of the public service throughout the empire.

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